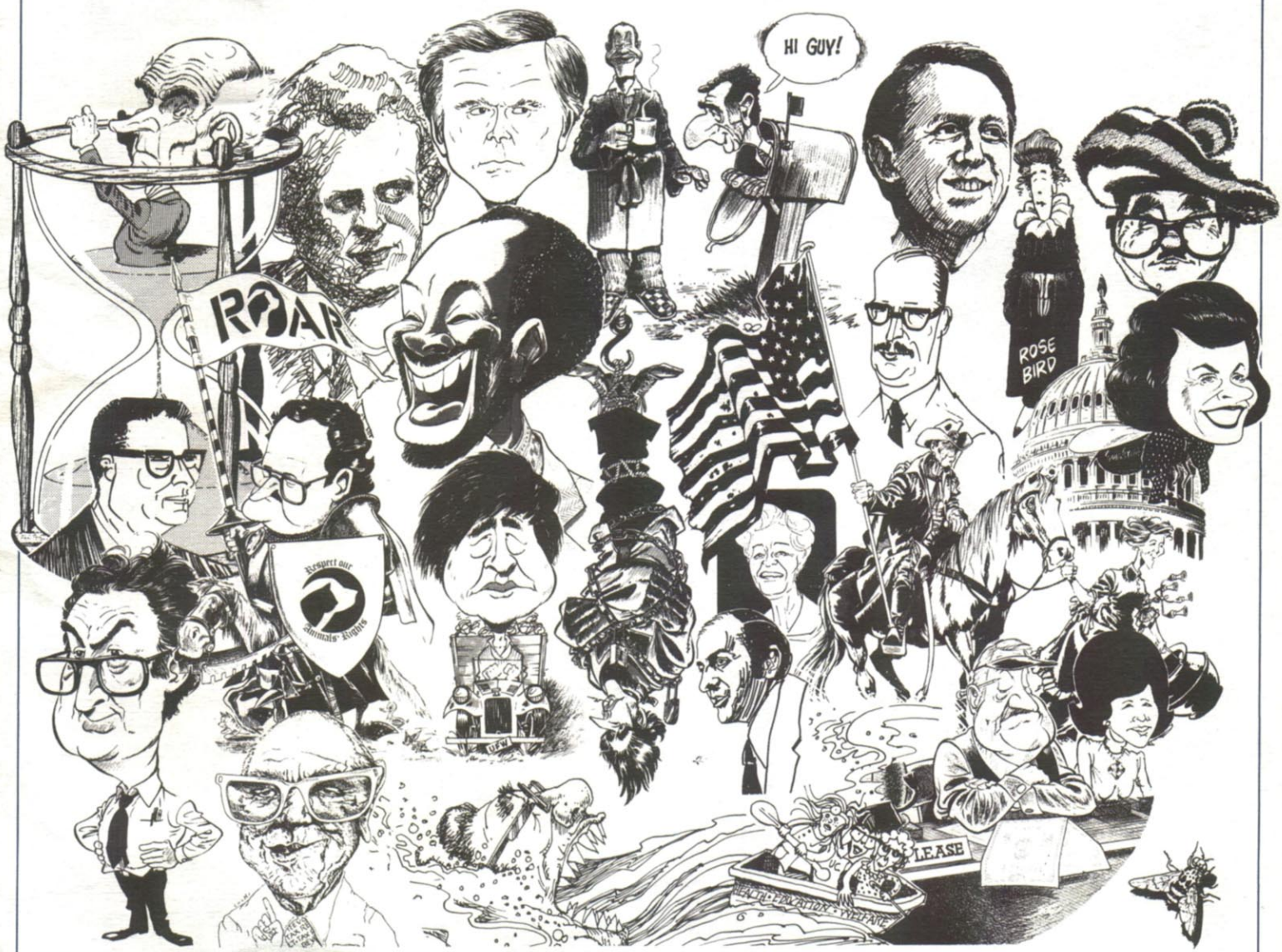
THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

JANUARY 1985 $2.50

CALIFORNIA Journal

CELEBRATING 15 YEARS

WITH A FEW OF OUR FRIENDS...



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GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN
GOVERNOR

State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO 95814

December 6, 1984

Mr. Tom Hoeber
California Journal
1714 Capitol Avenue
Sacramento, Ca. 95814

Dear Tom:

The California Journal this month celebrates its 15th anniversary having established itself as a respected source of in-depth information about the state government and politics.

As it has grown in scope and circulation, it also has matured in its examination of the people and issues that take center stage in the Capitol.

Tom, I know that it has taken perseverance and tremendous energy to insure that the California Journal has survived to carry out its special editorial mission.

To you and your staff, I offer my personal best wishes on this significant anniversary, and I wish you many more.

Most cordially,

George Deukmejian

Edmund G. Brown, Jr.

Mr. Tom Hoeber
California Journal
1714 Capitol Ave.
Sacramento, CA 95814

Dear Tom:

Congratulations on the Journal's 15th anniversary. Keep up the good work.

Best wishes,

Jerry

Edmund G. Brown, Jr.

- Great work!

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Letter from the publisher

There is a wall in the office of the *California Journal* thirty-three feet long and seven feet high containing back issues of all 178 *Journals* published since this venture began 15 years ago this month. The wall is tangible evidence of the rather remarkable event we celebrate: the 15th anniversary of a magazine almost entirely supported by its readers, dealing with serious affairs and read by over 50,000 people each month!

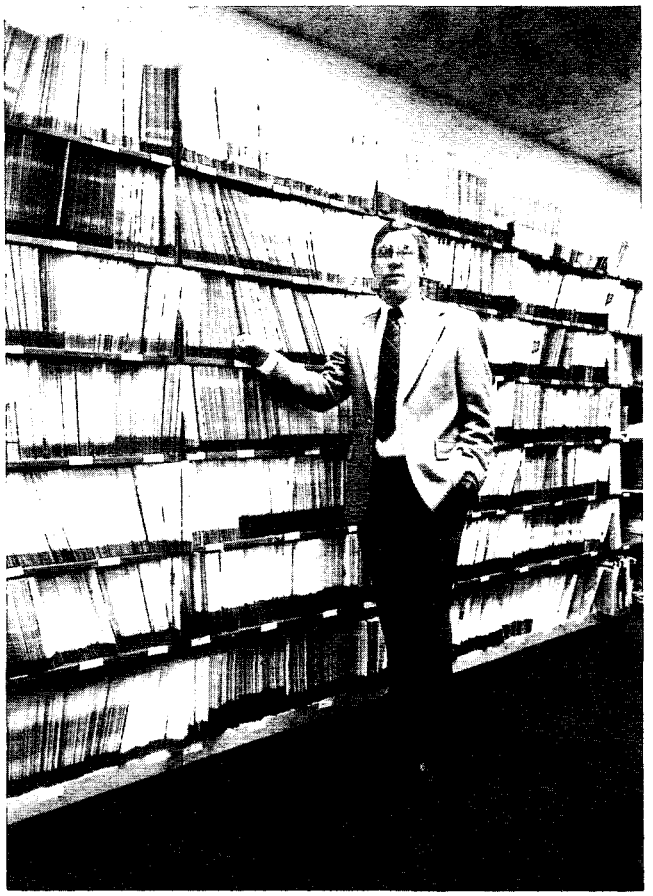
It is appropriate on such an occasion to look back a bit. In 1970 Ronald Reagan was governor. People in the east wondered who this actor-citizen-politician was an thought it fittingly strange that California should have elected such a person to its highest office. Republicans controlled the Assembly and seemed to be on the verge of capturing the Senate, thus assuring them control of the 1971 reapportionment and, hence, political dominance for at least the decade to come. George Deukmejian was completing his first term in the state Senate. Only two current assemblymen (Willie Brown and John Vasconcellos) and six current senators (Stiern, Alquist, Dills, Petris, Richardson and Marks) held those offices in 1970. And the state budget was $6.5 billion.

Today the state budget exceeds $30 billion, Democrats have firm control of the governmental processes except for the skillful exercise of gubernatorial power by that former senator, and our friends in the east have discovered the appeal of Ronald Reagan.

The more things have changed, however, the more they have remained the same. The high cost and low quality of campaigning, pulling and tugging over the budget, concern over spiraling costs of social services, and issues such as water, legislative reform, education, environment, business climate — all were argued in 1970. The *Journal* probably could save a fortune by recycling major sections of articles that appeared ten or fifteen years ago.

The *Journal*, too, has changed and remained the same. It is amusing to look at our first few issues and note the total absence of graphics or any form of visual relief from solid pages of type. Our subscription price was only $15 compared to the $24.95 it has now reached (of course, had we mirrored the state budget, our price would now be $69.23). And there were no by-lines then; merely the implication that "the *Journal*" had spoken and was not subject to human frailty. (We are a touch more modest now.) But on the other hand, the basic typography, "*Journal* blue" and, more substantively, our editorial goals and our commitment to balanced reporting have remained the same.

As most readers of the *California Journal* are aware, the magazine is only one — albeit the most important — of many activities of The California Center, our non-profit parent organization. Among those other activities are a successful book-publishing operation called California Journal Press which publishes books in the same general fields of interest



as the *Journal*. Among its offerings are *California Government and Politics Annual*, which is aimed toward students, and the *Roster* which appears in the February issue of the *Journal* and is also sold separately — to the tune of 80,000 copies this year alone.

Another Center activity is Capitol Focus, a three-year-old program that provides an opportunity for hundreds of high school students to visit Sacramento for three or four days to become familiar with the politics and institutions of their state capital. This program, unlike the *Journal* and the Press, is dependent on the generosity of corporations and foundations to fund the operating cost and, especially, to expand its availability to students all over the state regardless of financial ability.

Still another Center interest over the years has been television. For two years in the mid-70's the Center produced a weekly state government program in cooperation with the state's public broadcasting stations. In 1982 and 1983 the Center produced a series of half-hour special programs fo-

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cusing on issues in depth. Over the years The Center has conducted several studies including one on media and politics in the 1974 gubernatorial campaign and another that early on identified the new business of ballot initiative qualifying that we have called "computer democracy."

Many *Journal* subscribers are familiar with one of our more recent ventures, *NEWSFILE*, the monthly newsletter listing gubernatorial appointments, lobbyist registration changes and other information more detailed than could be presented in the *Journal*. *NEWSFILE* is celebrating its first anniversary.

Less visible to Californians are the publications modeled after *California Journal* that exist in New York and Illinois: *Empire State Report* and *Illinois Issues*, respectively. We were pleased to have contributed to the launching of these now well-established publications. Through these three publications nearly 25 percent of the nation's population has access to comprehensive and non-partisan analysis of state government news.

The finances of a non-profit organization are seldom a pretty sight, especially in the post-Proposition 13 era when funds for charitable purposes don't begin to meet the needs of deserving causes. We are happy to say that the *Journal* and its closely related activities are now relatively independent of the vagaries of grants from foundations and corporations. In our early years, however, grants made our survival possible. We remember with special gratitude the major generosity of the Ford Foundation and the Michael J. Connell Foundation. Today we still depend on contributions from our readers and friends to close the gap between income and expenses, but it is literally true that the *Journal* is supported entirely by its readers and advertisers and that its continued survival does not depend on others.

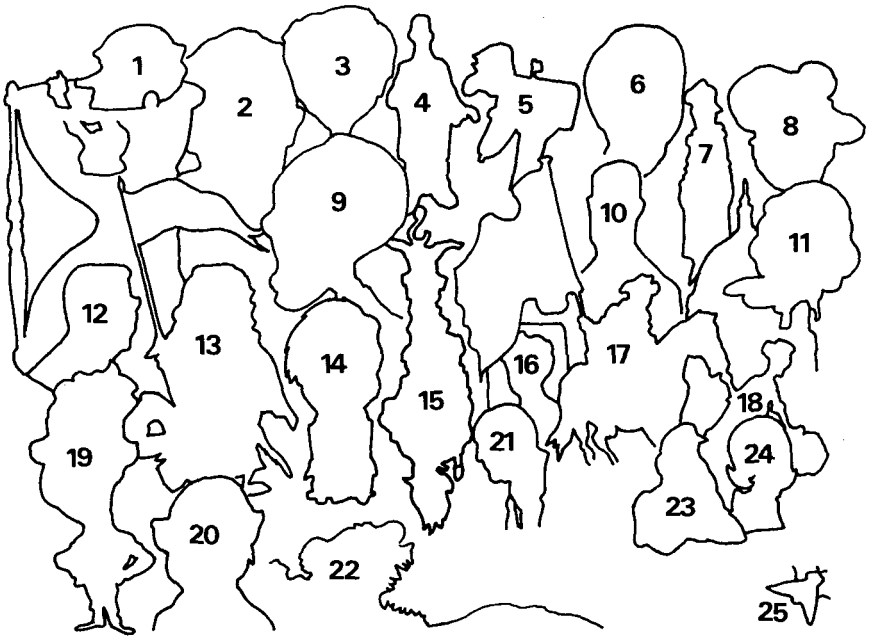
As mentioned, special projects still require outside support, and in this regard we wish especially to thank the Weingart Foundation for its major grant last year to enable The Center to buy its own small office building, thus assuring reduced operating expenses and continued program growth in years to come.

Fifteen years in the life of a magazine is middle age, and, while we are not ready to admit to a mid-life crisis, this is clearly a time not only to savor past accomplishments but to look to new goals and challenges. This perspective is especially important to the vitality of a magazine, for magazines succeed only to the extent they continue to evolve and change as their readers change.

Thus we are beginning a several-month-long planning effort at The California Center to chart growth and change in our present activities and to identify new projects which continue and expand the Center's basic citizen-education goal. The primary consideration in all planning will be the continued quality of *California Journal*. Beyond that we are prepared to explore a wide range of options. As we enter this planning process we cordially invite you to share with us your ideas for programs and activities that are consistent with the goals of The Center and not inconsistent with its financial health.

A personal word in closing. As the head of this organization and its co-founder I get the "glory" on an occasion like this and I certainly take a great deal of pride in that. But the truth is *California Journal's* 15th anniversary is a celebration that is possible because of many, many other people who, over this decade-and-a-half, have made our survival and success possible. My co-founders, Jud Clark and Vic Fazio and the other first-year partners Bill Geyer, Jerry Evans and Mike Wenstrom, who put their money and their sweat on the line; the editors, writers and artists who made the *Journal* what it is; the small and immensely dedicated staff that often lived on psychic rather than economic income; the members of the board of directors and the editorial advisory board who have so often guided us away from disaster and toward opportunities; the donors ranging from large foundations to individual one- or two-dollar contributors among our subscribers; the printers and typesetter and other suppliers who often bore the brunt of our cash-flow problems; our families who were so much a part of the operation; and our thousands of loyal subscribers: This is your celebration too. Cheers!

Thomas R. Hoeber



WHO'S WHO ON THE COVER

1. Alan Cranston 2. Howard Berman 3. Pete Wilson 4. Tom Bradley 5. George Deukmejian 6. Leo McCarthy 7. Rose Bird 8. S. I. Hayakawa 9. Willie Brown 10. Jim Mills 11. Dianne Feinstein 12. Robert Monagan 13. David Roberti 14. Cesar Chavez 15. Jerry Brown 16. Ivy Baker Priest 17. Ronald Reagan 18. Nancy Reagan 19. Phil Burton 20. Paul Gann 21. Bob Moretti 22. Howard Jarvis 23. Jesse Unruh 24. March Fong Eu 25. Medfly

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THE MONTHLY ANALYSIS OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS
CALIFORNIA Journal

Volume XVI, Number 1 January 1985

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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public-benefit corporation.

California Journal (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $35; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1984 by The California Center. Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

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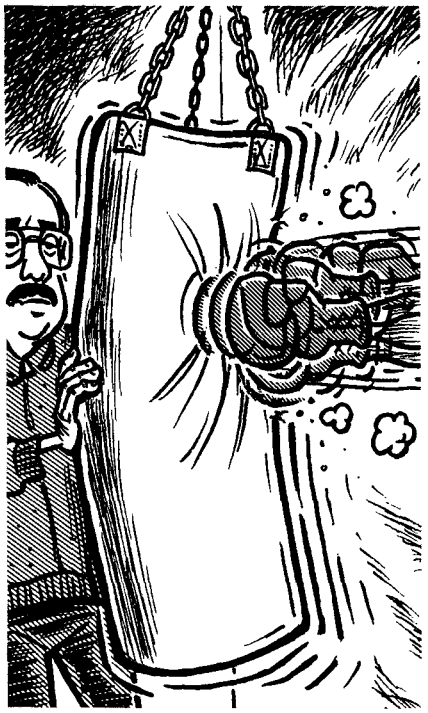

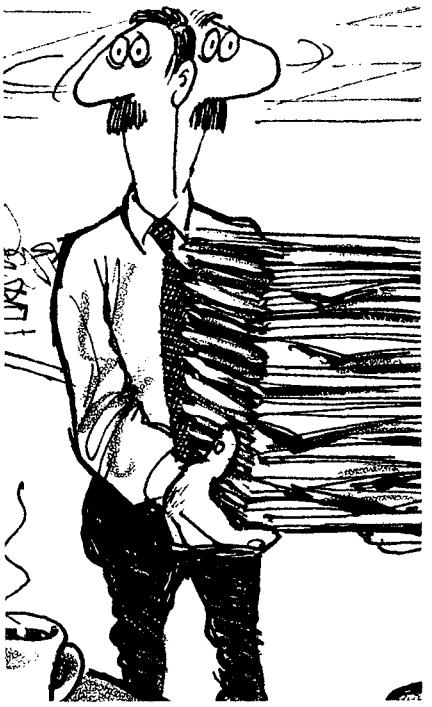

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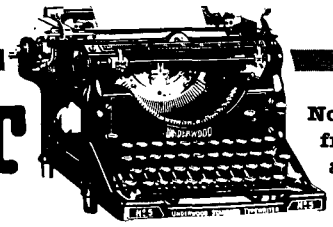
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

Fresno Mayor Dan Whitehurst, 36, is quitting politics, at least for now. An ambitious man, he tried to parlay his local reputation as an innovator into a successful run against Jerry Brown for the Democratic U.S. Senate nomination in 1982. But weak as Brown was politically, he could still beat the mayor of Fresno. Another way of saying the same thing is to note that Whitehurst, who leaves office in May, now sees more of a future for himself in the family funeral business.

Howard Jarvis is peeved at Governor Deukmejian because the governor opposed Jarvis' Proposition 36 last November. But Jarvis wants to talk to Deukmejian nonetheless to see what might be done toward enacting some provisions from the defeated measure. He says he got a November 9th letter from the governor proposing a meeting between members of their respective staffs. But Jarvis, 82, wants a meeting with Deukmejian himself. "I'm my own staff," he says, "I'm not going to talk to somebody on his staff. I don't have the time."

Running for office is a matter of measured steps. First, you "test the waters." Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande has done so regarding a race for lieutenant governor in 1986 and has found the waters inviting. Next, you disclose that you will formally announce. The 46-year-old former Republican Assemblyman has done that, too. His timing for step three, the actual announcement, is rather vague. Nestande says only that it will be "sometime in 1985."

Assemblyman Tom Hayden says that the election-night reporting on his race with Republican David Shell was so bad that Chevy Chase called him from Rome the next day to commiserate over his defeat. But those early reports of Hayden's political death were — of course — greatly exaggerated. He is alive, well and happily embarked on his second term. As a measure of his strength, Hayden notes that he did even better than we reported in our post-election roundup last month. We had him beating Shell by 10 percentage points (53-43) but we also said that many write-in votes had not been counted as we went to press. As Hayden

pointed out, a surge of write-ins — from Santa Monica — pushed him to a 56-40 victory. The same thing happened to Congressman Mel Levine from that area. At press time, we had him 53-44 over Republican Rob Scribner. With the Santa Monica write-ins, he went to a 55-42 percentage. We haven't heard whether Chevy Chase also called Levine.

Republican Assemblyman Larry Stirling, a former San Diego councilman, says he'll run for mayor there if incumbent Roger Hedgecock is convicted of receiving illegal campaign contributions and forced to leave office. Hedgecock is the political Houdini who won re-election in November despite the indictment hanging over him.

Since we reported in our November issue that voters around the state have been rejecting proposed local tax increases to pay for local highway construction, we also must report that such is not always the case. After the article appeared, Santa Clara County voters approved a half-cent increase in the local sales tax to improve two highways and build a new one. Mike Rancer, a spokesman for Supervisor Tom Legan says voters bucked the statewide trend because the tax increase ends in 10 years and because voters knew exactly where the money would go.

Murphy's Law is alive and well at the Board of Medical Quality Assurance (Department of Consumer Affairs), at least if two recent letters are any indication. Letter one, from the chief medical consultant, said the board's Division of Licensing had voted in mid-September to do away with a requirement that doctors be certified in mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to have their medical licenses renewed. Letter two, from a member of the board and dated six weeks later, said that no such vote took place. Letter one carries the heading "George Deukmejian, Governor;" letter two's heading is "Edmund G. Brown, Jr., Governor." Comments Dr. Robert Weinmann, who received each, "You have to admire a smoothly functioning office where communication is not a problem because it doesn't exist."

When astronaut Sally Ride was visiting Governor Deukmejian recently at the Capitol, she was asked at a news conference about the possibility of sending a journalist into space. The governor, who had been standing quietly alongside, brightened a bit and got a laugh when he said he could suggest a few names. But unfortunately for gossip lovers, he never did.

(Deborah Pacyna, Sacramento)

Campaign consultants Stu Mollrich and Allan Hoffenblum have ended their business partnership of five years. Mollrich, now in Newport Beach, will specialize in fund raising and media work. Hoffenblum will stay in Los Angeles and continue with campaign management.

Campaign managers Bill Rukeyser and Clint Reilly had some trouble before the November elections finding an actor to play Howard Jarvis for their anti-Prop 36 campaign. The first two possibilities — gleaned from a selection of photos — were men of Jarvis' age, 82, but they were unavailable. Both, it seems, had passed away. Next came 62-year-old Bill Dulaney. He was alive and available but had a problem with hair. Jarvis has a fair amount of it but Dulaney is bald. The campaign managers, becoming antsy by this time, gave Dulaney a wig and put him to work at once.

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Tony Quinn is one of the Bob Naylor staffers who lost his job when Pat Nolan succeeded Naylor as the Assembly's GOP leader. But not to worry. Tony has some possibilities lined up. He also says he wants to write a "popular" book on reapportionment, his political specialty. And after that, who knows? Maybe a thriller based on the status of California's bonded debt.

The Assembly's USC rooting section has been bolstered by the arrival of Republican Gil Ferguson, newly elected from Newport Beach. He and his wife, Anita, often travel with the team and in 1981 got as far as South Bend to watch that year's showdown with Notre Dame. Ferguson says he was intimidated at first by seeing the Notre Dame players kneel in prayer before the game and by seeing a large statue of Christ looming over the stadium wall. But then a light plane flew overhead towing a sign that said "God is a Trojan." and lo, he says, USC won.

Under new president Donald Gerth, who is much interested in politics and government, California State University, Sacramento, is expanding its Center for California Studies. The center, designed to develop closer relationships between the school and officeholders at the Capitol, has hired political science Professor Charles Bell — on leave from the state university at Fullerton — to develop projects and the grants to fund them. As we reported last month, the center has already agreed to help fund the Senate's intern program, which was to have been cut back because of the Gann initiative. Immense educational benefits undoubtedly will flow from this venture. Also look for results in the future when lawmakers — now in closer relationship with the center — must decide whether the state university or UC should get the bigger budget increase or the deeper budget cut.

Sarah Michael, top aide to Energy Commission Chairman Chuck Imbrecht, says she knows how legislators can improve their image. They should stage a big fund raiser to aid refugees in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Uganda and El Salvador. Michael, by the way, practices what she preaches. Active with "Rescue Now," an international medical-relief organization, she's helped raise thousands of dollars in Sacramento on behalf of an orphanage in El Salvador.

Former Assembly minority leader Carol Hallett and her husband, Jim, claim to get up every work day at 3:45 a.m., do an hour of calisthenics in their Sacramento home and then start at their jobs. For Carol, now an assistant secretary of the Interior, it's a 5 a.m. conference call with her boss, Interior Secretary William Clark, and others in Washington. There, of course, it is 8 a.m. For Jim, it's a 5:15 a.m. departure for his job as director of the Farmer's Home Administration. The Halletts say they go to bed every night at 10 p.m., which is probably true. But so far as the rest of it is concerned — that business about getting up at 3:45 every day and doing an hour's worth of calisthenics — who's to check it out?

Andy Martin, the insurance man from Newhall who lost to Senator Ed Davis in November, thinks it would be a good idea for us to list campaign spending totals alongside voting results in our election wrap-up articles. If it were shown that he spent only $2500 compared to Davis' spending of $400,000, he wouldn't look so bad for getting only 25 percent of the vote, he says.

Senator Bill Richardson, organizer and money-raiser for conservative causes, says his *Gun Owners* magazine — launched 16 months ago — has a circulation now of 17,000 and is breaking even financially. But it faces a crucial test this month when many of its original one-year subscriptions are up for renewal.

Robert J. McAndrews of Malibu served for the first time as a precinct officer in last November's election and says he's no longer sure that most voters know what they are doing. He writes:

I finished the day feeling uneasy about our inability — or our unwillingness — to study enough to make informed choices. Many of our "customers" arrived with sample ballots and proposition analysis books still in their sealed envelopes. Others asked for copies, on the grounds that they had forgotten theirs or never received them. Although this was a long and relatively complicated ballot, some voters were finished in a matter of seconds, obviously having chosen to vote for just a few favorite candidates or propositions. Others asked, "Do I *really* have to vote on *all* this stuff?"

One duly registered student from a nearby college took the ballot from me, then asked me to come with him into the booth and tell him how to vote — even though I was wearing my "Precinct Officer" badge conspicuously. "I board here, but I'm really from another state," he explained, "so I don't know these local candidates." I turned him down.

Of course there were matters of voting etiquette not covered in our orientation. A dog and two cats were moved; a young man with loud rock music leaking from his earphones was asked to lower the volume (he then asked us to stop the barking of a visiting dog, because he wanted to concentrate!); a young mother with a year-old in her arms ruined two ballots before she finally agreed to allow one of us to hold the baby; and some first-timers tried to take home their voting envelopes, instead of using them to give us their ballots for deposit. A few disdained the voting receipt which we handed them in accordance with regulations. On the other hand, a McDonald's manager phoned to complain that we supposedly were telling voters to bring him their receipts and get a free meal!

I was surprised at the number of would-be voters who were either not registered or incorrectly registered because of recent moves, divorces or plain neglect. Several of these brought properly addressed sample ballots or voter registration cards to prove that they were eligible to vote. Others told us that they had these documents at home, but they seemed to consider it an imposition to get them.

Oh well, California and its counties and municipalities do provide advance study material to aid those voters who take their responsibility seriously. Relatives tell us that in their states they receive absolutely nothing.

"Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. And a people who mean to be their own governors, must arm themselves with the power knowledge gives."

— James Madison

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814.*

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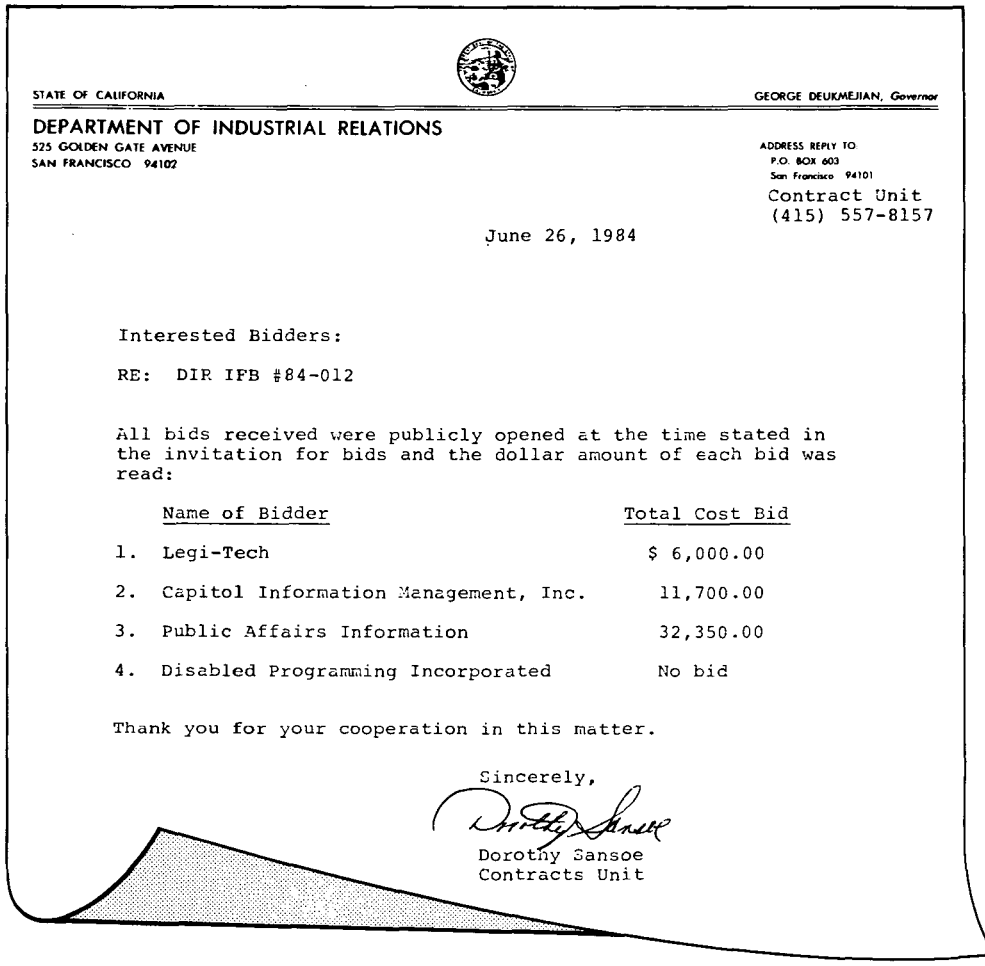

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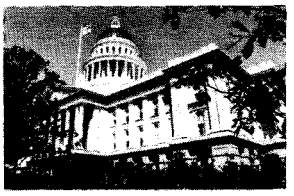

Capitol review

The new year has arrived, bringing with it a new legislative session and the final half of Governor George Deukmejian's term. Traditionally, now is the time to evaluate and look ahead, to assess the governor's chances for reelection in 1986 (good) or to make predictions about issues that are likely to come before the Legislature and the outcomes of these issues (various). But there's another bit of news that stirs big thoughts at this time: Paul Gann and/or Don Sebastiani are planning to put reapportionment on the ballot again.

At this writing, neither man has finally decided to go ahead, but both said they wished to do so and both said they were almost certain to get the volunteer and financial support that would allow them to proceed. So, given the likelihood of this new effort, one must wonder: What's going on? Why is this issue — which has been on the ballot three times and before the Legislature twice in the last four years — likely to be resurrected once more?

When it was suggested to Gann recently that people might be tired of reapportionment, he replied with fervor, "The people have been misled." Despite nearly four years of debate, people still don't understand the truth as he sees it: that the current apportionment of the Legislature and the state's congressional delegation — done by the Democratic majority under a Democratic governor in 1981 and 1982 — is what allows Democrats to retain their majority control. "Nobody that I know of wants a one-party system," he says.

Gann's solution is an initiative that would take reapportionment from the Legislature and give the line-drawing job to a new five-member commission. If this sounds familiar, it should. It's largely similar to Governor Deukmejian's commission idea, Proposition 39, which voters rejected only last November. And two years before, in November 1982, voters rejected another proposed reapportionment commission, this one placed on the ballot by the state GOP and Common Cause. But Gann is undismayed. His proposal, he says, is "solid as a rock" and — more importantly to him — may be explained easily in a five-minute talk.

As he did once before, Republican Assemblyman Sebastiani plans to go another route: to redraw legislative and congressional district boundaries himself, place them in an initiative proposal and qualify it for the ballot. Voters will see the lines immediately and vote them up or down. Last time, Sebastiani qualified his new lines for the ballot, but the state Supreme Court in 1983 ruled them unconstitutional and took them off.

This time, Sebastiani says, he'll overcome the court objections by casting his initiative as a constitutional amendment rather than statutory law. However, his big point is that voters don't want a reapportionment commission but would be willing to go for a set of specific boundaries.

Both Gann and Sebastiani explain themselves by pointing to the political good they want to do for the public as a whole. Gann, as mentioned, describes the evils of a one-party system. Sebastiani, as he did last time, says the current apportionment is bad for the public because it protects incumbents — Democrats and Republicans alike.

But it's also clear that both men have other reasons for pushing their plans. As the head of a volunteer organization that he maintains through the mails ("People's Advocate," based in the Sacramento suburb of Carmichael) Gann must keep his troops active to maintain the dues-flow that keeps his organization alive. Last year he qualified Proposition 24, which voters approved last June. Aimed at undercutting Democratic power in the Legislature, the measure has just suffered an initial defeat in the courts. Gann had intended to follow up with an initiative to restore a part-time Legislature but ran into problems with some of the details. As a result, he's into reapportionment now.

For Sebastiani, who has hopes of running for statewide office in 1986, a new reapportionment initiative can do nothing but help him along. Fairly well known around the San Francisco Bay area after three terms in the Assembly and as a scion of the prominent Sonoma County wine-making family, he needs the Southern California exposure that another initiative campaign can bring.

None of this is meant to suggest that Gann and Sebastiani are insincerely seeking reapportionment reform. Clearly, if they go ahead, each would like to see his initiative qualify for the ballot and be successful at the polls. However, that final success is not crucial to them. Whereas the typical politician won't launch a campaign without some reasonable chance for victory at the polls, Gann and Sebastiani — for the aforementioned reasons — profit from the campaign alone.

Thus, they are but the latest examples of why the initiative industry has been thriving in California over recent years. As their situations show, there is money and/or political capital to be made by launching an initiative campaign. As we said in this magazine last month, in an article on another facet of the initiative business, "There's gold in them thar campaigns."

At a symposium in San Francisco last month, sponsored by the Center for the Study of Law and politics, experts discussed the remarkable expansion in the use of initiatives over recent years and wondered what should be done. Although reforms were suggested to restrict the initiative's use, the prospects for any immediate change in the process were thought to be dim.

So look for more of the same through 1985 and into '86: important political, social and economic questions being presented to voters by the Sebastianis, the Ganns and the many others who hope for profit and/or reform by taking the initiative route. Deukmejian's reelection efforts and the Legislature's struggle with its quota of bills may well be the second-rate stories of the year.

Robert Fairbanks

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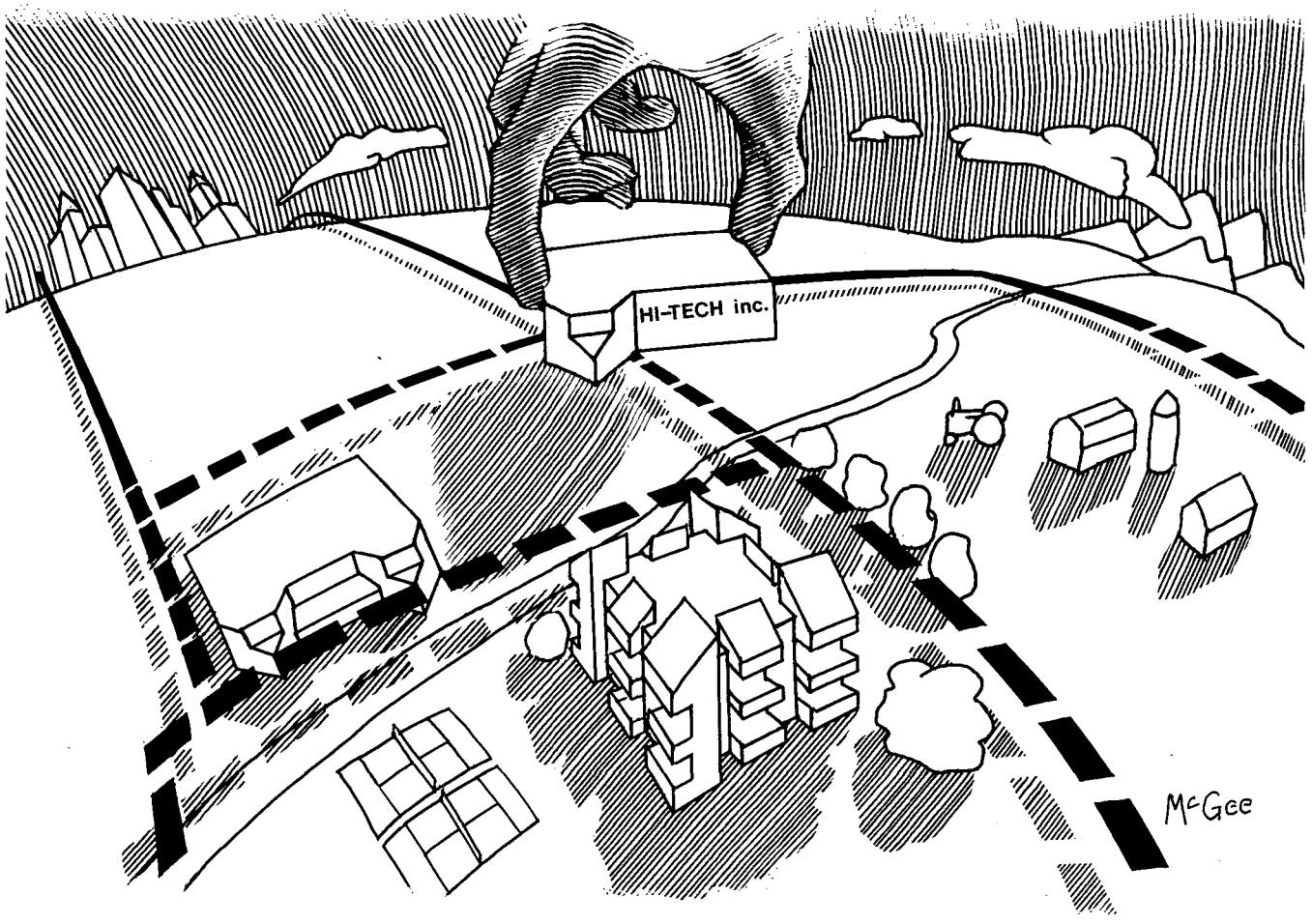
GLAMOUR SPOT FOR HIGH-TECH DEVELOPMENT

Environmental protections help attract business to Oregon



By BOB SIMMONS

"Out on the road we tell all the turkeys, Yes, it's always rainin' and the sun never shines . . .
— Brian Bowers, Seattle folk singer,
"The View From Home."

Northwesterners notoriously exaggerate the awfulness of the weather, hoping thus to keep out the riff-raff. They praise each other for insulting tourists and present awards for egregiously bad manners toward prospective investors. Seattle cars bear bumper stickers that read "Celebrate Seattle Rain Festival — October to May." Oregonians are more forthright: "Don't Californicate Oregon."

Indeed, one of Oregon's former governors, the late Tom McCall, is supposed to have wisecracked once: "Come and visit Oregon, have a good time, and please don't stay." One of the state's most durable myths has McCall putting up signs along the borders to discourage permanent settlement.

Bob Simmons, who covered California politics for years, is senior political reporter for KING-TV in Seattle.

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It's a joke, of course. Sort of. Although Oregon and Washington are as hungry for investment as other states, there always has been a fear of the slurbs and pollutants that new business and industry may bring. The lesson of California is too close not to heed. As a result, Oregon in particular has maintained relatively strict environmental controls.

And because strict controls are often seen as deterrents to growth and development, it is with some surprise that Oregon suddenly finds itself becoming a national glamour spot for high-technology industrial development. Although other factors have contributed to this happy situation — and we'll get to them later — the plain fact is that Oregon is attracting more business than ever not because it has lowered its environmental protections but largely because it has kept them high.

"We basically swept the 1984 high-tech market," boasts John Anderson, director of Oregon's Department of Economic Development. "We did not lose one competition to anyone in the nation in the past six months. Since last May we've had eleven major announcements of new plants by companies brand new to the state, or of very substantial expansions by companies already located here."

Richard Carson, the department's manager of industrial properties, deals directly with many of the incoming firms and believes that Oregon is getting considerable development that would otherwise have gone to California. At least five of the new plants that have come to Oregon since May were built by companies headquartered in California, he reports. "If they were happy in California, I would think they would have stayed," he says.

Oregon? The state with the green dream, with the most restrictive land-use laws in the nation? The only one where local land-use laws have to be approved by state planners?

"Our point precisely," says Henry Richmond of the One Thousand Friends of Oregon, an often-sworn-at citizens' watchdog group that guards the state's land-use laws in court. "Companies building new plants mainly want to know what the rules are. They find that our land-use programs, tough on saving the countryside, are pro-housing and pro-industry. We've found ways to aid industry by identifying and making accessible more industrial sites within the urban growth areas."

Oregon did not set out to become a mecca for computer makers and assemblers. It was a passion for preserving land, scenery, air and water which, ten years after the laws were passed, produced one of the nation's most salable high-tech locations.

Planning requirements

Environmental concern reached its peak in Oregon in the mid-1970s, coincidental with political support and public affection for Governor McCall. Teamed with a Republican state senator (a dairy farmer) and a Democratic state senator (a big-city advertising man), McCall achieved land-use reforms that seem draconian today, viewed from outside the state.

"This was benchmark legislation," says Eldon Hout of the Land Conservation and Development Commission which oversees statewide planning. "It may never be replicated anywhere in the United States. I'm not sure it would work anywhere else." Hout believes, with Richmond, that the restrictive land-use laws are a major attraction to new industry. "They don't have to come in and deal with a lot of angry neighbors every time they want to do something," he explained. "The zoning's there and it's reliable and the hard political work's already done for them."

The laws require every town, city and county to plan the use of every acre of land within their jurisdictions, and to plan it in a way that meets a severe 18-point test applied by the state (see box). The state criteria require preservation of farmland and timberland, streamsides, scenic areas; protection of air, water, fish and wildlife.

More than that — and more to the point of high-tech's love affair with Oregon — the laws require each jurisdiction to establish urban growth boundaries and to identify and rezone industrial and residential sites inside those boundaries. The idea is to promote contiguous, compact urban growth. The result — one of the results — is a unique, one-stop siting system which expanding companies seem to like. While resource lands outside the urban-growth boundaries are fiercely defended, those lands inside the urban-growth areas have been analyzed, described in detail, rezoned and registered in Oregon's computerized industrial-site catalog.

"We have in our computer 1500 sites zoned for industry," Anderson boasts. "Most of the environmental-impact statements are already completed as part of the planning process. That means 60,000 acres of Oregon are *pre-approved* for industry. We've had 225 prospective industrial investors use the system since last spring.

"We have them fill out a detailed questionnaire which forces the investors to be quite specific about what they need and what they plan to do. We deliver, overnight, a list and a detailed description of every single site in Oregon that would meet their needs."

Hewlett-Packard, the electronics giant which often prefers to locate on campus-like sites in the countryside, has years of experience siting plants in Oregon, Washington and California.

"Oregon gives us a quick go-or-no-go. That's what we want," according to Gary Fazzino, HP's government and public-affairs manager at Everett, Washington. "The assumption is that there's no way you can look for sites outside that (urban-growth) boundary. We sometimes would argue with that, but that's the assumption and that saves you time and money. The land-use laws are very helpful to us. Our government problem is bureaucratic meddling, not restrictive laws."

While Oregon polished its sales pitch on those lands inside the urban-growth zones, it has become tougher than any other state in preserving lands outside the urban-growth boundaries. Productive farmland, generally speaking, is simply not going to be approved for development by the state's Land Conservation and Development Commission.

"We've been able to tell rural land owners, 'Mr. Farmer, your hopes of growing crops will be alive always,' " says LCDC's Hout. "But at the same time we've had to tell him, 'Your hopes of growing houses just vanished.' This has triggered three initiative measures against us, plus one (in 1984) that did not get on the ballot."

All three initiative measures — to repeal the land-use laws — were defeated with major contributions from high-technology companies, from the home-building industry and from farmers. Not from land speculators.

"The farmer who wants to farm has supported us every time," Hout claims. "He doesn't want to see some damned dentist move in next to him on a tiny acreage, with one horse and a pack of dogs, creating all kinds of conflict when the farmer wants to plow all night or to spread manure."

Of a total of 36 million privately owned acres in Oregon, 15 million are zoned exclusively for farm use. Another 13 million are zoned exclusively for forestry. Substantial tax subsidies attach to both zones; property tax reductions of 40 percent are common, according to Hout.

Hout says the land laws were sprung from a one-time-only combination of personality (McCall's), politics and economics.

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"I'm not at all sure it's exportable," he says.

Larry Orman of San Francisco doesn't think it's exportable, either. He heads People for Open Space, a non-profit citizens' organization trying to preserve dwindling green space in the Bay area. He views Oregon's land laws with amazement, wistfully.

"They used the window of possibility that opened in the late 60s and early 70s to take some bold steps."

Nothing like that happened in California, Orman says, because of the size, diversity and political divisiveness within the state.

"The issues have not gone away, in either Oregon or California," he says. "The pressures will increase for more and more rural suburbs. But it isn't dealt with on the state level here. Local communities are taking up the land-use issue through initiatives. That's the only way people get to deal with these concerns."

The problem is, of course, that constant battles at the local level create the very uncertainties that generate obstacles to growth. By requiring everyone to play by the same rules, Oregon avoids much of that.

Not to say that it's all sweet harmony in Oregon's high-tech ecotopia. Rural property owners are still angry, especially those who had hoped to sell off a bit of the home farm for retirement money, or to carve off a few acres so that the kids could settle in next to the old folks. Unless they got it done before 1974 — when the major land-use laws were passed — they probably can't do it.

The promise of new industry is still mostly confined to the Portland area. Critics of Governor Vic Atiyeh claim the state has marketed Portland and ignored excellent sites elsewhere. Development Director Anderson denies it.

Trouble in Happy Valley

The LCDC fights some ironic battles, such as its current one with the city of Happy Valley, a Portland suburb of 500 people surrounded by highly urban neighborhoods. Happy Valley is a rather exclusive island zoned for large-lot, single-family dwellings. The state's guidelines say the village must rezone part of its land for apartments and duplexes. Happy Valley refuses.

"They paint us as bad guys ganging up on them and cracking heads," LCDC's Hout says. "All we want is for them to take their share of the urban housing load, and we won't approve their plan until they do."

Of 279 local jurisdictions, Hout says, "this is the most trouble we've had."

After ten years of legislative tinkering, Oregon's land use laws seem to rest on these primary concepts:

- marking off firm and predictable boundaries between city and country, avoiding a future of rural slums;
- preserving farmland, timberland, scenic areas, streams and other sensitive resources;
- providing stability and predictability in land-use regulations so that all contenders know the rules, everywhere in the state; and,
- providing and pre-approving industrial, business and residential sites in a streamlined permit process.

Hewlett-Packard's Gary Fazzino says land-use predictability is much more important than the severity of land-use restrictions when it comes to choosing a plant site.

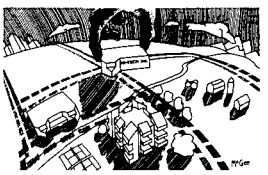
"We can't attract good people to work for us in an area that has piecemeal planning. They want to know what the territory will look like ten or twenty years from now. So do we."

Obviously, there's more to Oregon's success than a single land-use law, far reaching as it may be. Carson, of the state's Economic Development Department, points out that labor and housing costs — which are of great importance to any employer — are lower in Oregon than in California. In the same vein, Oregon's workforce is not so highly unionized as California's, he says.

Also, Oregon last July repealed the unitary method of levying its corporate income tax. Under this method, a state taxes national and multi-national corporations not on the basis of their statewide income but on the basis of their national and/or international incomes. The system is opposed by many large corporations and is particularly objectionable to the Japanese. (Governor Deukmejian proposed a reform of California's unitary system last summer but could not push it through the Legislature.)

During a swing through California's Silicon Valley last November, Oregon Governor Victor Atiyeh made no bones of his wish to bring more business to the state. And one of his major selling points was the unitary method's repeal. However, he also cited the land-use laws. "We know that in business, time is money. We won't keep you waiting. We can tell you immediately what areas are reserved industrial development and what services are planned for those areas for years into the future," he said.

Carson puts another perspective on the land-use controls. He says the companies that are coming to Oregon also are "very big" on the quality of life for their employees and know that the state's land-use laws will help protect that quality.



The Eighteen Points.

Local land-use plans must satisfy Oregon state planners on these points:

1. Citizen involvement in the planning process.
2. Public access to all planning documents.
3. Preservation of agricultural lands.
4. Protection of forest lands.
5. Protection of open space and scenic resources.
6. Controls over pollution of air, water and land.
7. Protection of life and property from natural hazards (floods or landslides).
8. Recreational needs of the public in siting destination resorts.
9. Economic advancement in urban growth areas.
10. Provision of housing at price levels commensurate with the incomes of local households.
11. Orderly arrangement of public facilities; sewer, water, utilities, to support contiguous urban growth.
12. Transportation maps to fit compact urban-growth patterns.
13. Maximize energy conservation and minimize use of non-renewable resources.
14. Separate developable from non-developable lands; mark firm and long-range boundaries between.
15. Protection of Willamette Valley Greenway; 600 miles of river bank given much more restrictive attention than areas in Point 5.
16. Protection of estuarine lands and wetlands.
17. Protection of shore lands, rivers and seacoasts.
18. Protection and restoration of beach and dune areas.

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LA'S MAYOR GOES FOR A FOURTH TERM

A tougher Tom Bradley also looks ahead to 1986 and another tussle with George Deukmejian

By JOHN SCHWADA

In his 1982 gubernatorial campaign Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley tried to make a virtue of his low-keyed style. "Tom Bradley. He doesn't make a lot of noise. He just gets things done," said one of his campaign ads. City Hall wags went further. Bradley wouldn't discuss the weather until he had had a blue-ribbon panel study it, they would say. A few editorial writers dubbed him the "stealth mayor."

But that was before. Shortly after his defeat by Republican George Deukmejian, changes began to occur — enough to create what has become known as the "New Tom Bradley." In all, he seems to be tougher, more outspoken and more politically opportunistic than before.

Item: The new Bradley dismisses more than two-thirds of the city's 150 commissioners — many of them long-time Bradley associates — and replaces them with a slew of younger, activist types, the kinds of people who are likely to form a corps of enthusiastic Bradley supporters during subsequent political campaigns.

Item: The new Bradley names Tom Houston, 38, a zealous reformer and former chairman of the state Fair Political Practices Commission, as his deputy mayor and chief of staff.

Items: The new Bradley tangles openly with Police Chief Daryl Gates, meddles in a zoning case, calls for a probe of a city official's conduct, backs the controversial appointment of a youthful black aide, unexpectedly appears before a City Council committee to argue for a program and seeks to pack the City Council to "ensure" that an Hispanic is elected to that body.

What's going on?

Granted, none of this would be surprising if it were the work of New York City's Mayor Ed Koch. But for Bradley, it's downright shocking. What in the world is going on?

The answer seems to be that Bradley and his advisers decided that something big had to be done if he were to achieve his immediate political goal: to get elected to a fourth term as mayor this year with a big enough margin to propel him into a second shot at Deukmejian in 1986. (Deukmejian has already indicated that he'll seek reelection then.)

"There was a need to change the image of the mayor being so low-keyed . . . Many people have been critical of him in the past for being too laid-back and not solid enough on issues," says Bill Robertson, a long-time Bradley ally who heads the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

John Schwada, who covers Los Angeles City Hall for the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, *wrote "Ira Reiner" for the November 1982* Journal.

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In other words, there'll be no more bending backward to blur the differences between Bradley and his political foes or to portray the mayor as Mr. Moderate, as was the case during his unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign. Although Bradley will never be seen as a barnstorming black liberal, *a la* Jesse Jackson, he'll be tossing much more red meat to the Democratic faithful.

How are things going so far? "I think the effect of the mayor being more outspoken now and trying to take control of city government through his commission shakeup, for example, is positive — it's a positive image for any politician," says state Democratic Party chair Peter Kelly.

Widely credited with helping to put a new Bradley on the map is the media-conscious, reform-minded and politically acute Houston. If nothing else, he is a far cry from his predecessor as Bradley's top aide, Ray Remy. An undemonstrative, conciliatory and mild-mannered man, Remy left Bradley's side (apparently on his own volition) to head the Greater Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

No one on the Bradley side says that Houston is making something of the mayor that Bradley never was. However, explains one of Bradley's oldest associates, "Houston prods the mayor." The staff chief also seems to be prodding more action from others on the City Hall staff and from the managers of various city departments. "He yells a lot if there's a problem," says one of the latter.

A graduate of Stanford law school, Houston was brought into government by one of his professors then, now-Chief Justice Rose Bird. In the early days of the Brown administration, when Bird was secretary of the state Agriculture and Services Agency, she named Houston as her deputy secretary. In this post he was deeply involved in establishing the controversial Agricultural Labor Relations Board and spear-headed a restructuring of the state's welter of professional licensing boards by making them more consumer-oriented.

In 1978, when voters were asked to confirm Brown's appointment of Bird as chief justice and Republican Senator H. L. Richardson was leading an effort against her, Houston organized a campaign on her behalf. In 1979 Brown named Houston chairman of the FPPC, where he remained for four years.

Sensitive to the charge that the new Bradley is merely a public-relations concoction, Houston contends that the new Bradley is merely the old Bradley coming to the fore. "There's no doubt we're getting a lot of comments that 'Gee, the mayor is more active,' " Houston says. "But to a certain extent the mayor has always been an activist." The difference, says Houston, is that now there's someone in the mayor's office (himself) "who sees to it that the mayor's initiatives are shared with the public and who is open with the press."

It's generally assumed that Bradley wants to run again against Deukmejian in 1986 and will make the race if all goes well in the mayoral election this year. After all, he had to run twice against former Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty before beating him and becoming mayor in 1973. However, Bradley has not committed himself to a gubernatorial race and is saying only that he wants to keep his options open.

Meanwhile, though, he sometimes behaves as if a gubernatorial campaign were already underway. During a swing through the San Joaquin Valley last October, for instance, Bradley called the governor a "scrooge" for vetoing a senior-citizens' bill and rapped him for what Bradley said were inadequacies in a state effort to clean up toxic wastes at an industrial site in Los Angeles.

A fourth term

In any case, Bradley's most pressing political task at the moment is to win a fourth term as mayor (he would be the first fourth-termer in city history) and to win handily enough to run for governor from a position of strength.

(None of this is to say that Bradley has an absolute lock on the Democratic nomination for governor in 1986. That would be news to Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, Attorney General John Van de Kamp, Senator John Garamendi or any other Democrat who might be eyeing the state's top elective job. But Bradley would be tough for any other Democrat to beat and whoever takes him on must also ask himself or herself, "For what?" Is it really worth the effort when the prize is the chance to go against a Republican incumbent who, at this moment, looks exceedingly strong? True, politics is a volatile business and the gubernatorial election is almost two years hence. But for now, at least, Bradley is all by himself on the inside track.)

Bradley announced his mayoral candidacy November 19th at a dinner for supporters, many of whom, in speeches, praised him specifically for having brought the Olympics to Los Angeles in 1984. "The Olympics are probably the best sample of what Mayor Bradley is all about — his perseverance, against the odds, to bring business, labor and government together to actually deliver a major success," Houston said.

But Bradley's Olympic triumph, along with the prestige he gained from having had Democratic presidential nominee Walter Mondale consider him as a vice-presidential

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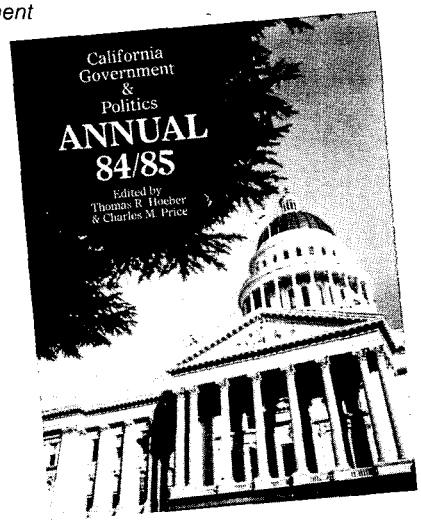

The 15th edition of *California Journal's* **California Government and Politics Annual** is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. But it is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1984-85 edition contains the "Practical Guide to State Government and Politics" and chapters on the various branches of government; lobbying; parties, politics and elections; citizen democracy; and local government. The 128-page large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price is the same as last year: $5.25 per copy, including sales tax.

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possibility, may not be enough to protect him from a tough mayoral campaign. For one, Los Angeles Councilman John Ferraro, a moderate Democrat with a $750,000 political war chest, has indicated that he'll challenge Bradley this spring.

Ferraro has already described some of the arguments he would make in a campaign. Among other things, he would say that Bradley has been in office too long and that the mayor would use another term only as a stepping-stone toward another race for governor. (Bradley used somewhat the same argument himself when he ran successfully for mayor in 1973 against incumbent Sam Yorty. Bradley criticized Yorty for seeking a fourth term and said that if elected he would serve only two terms.)

Ferraro is also expected to criticize Bradley's support for the costly Los Angeles Metro Rail subway program and to contend that Bradley, a former Los Angeles police lieutenant, has not been strong enough in support of the police.

"Amused" in Sacramento

Deukmejian's chief of staff, Steve Merksamer, watching events in Los Angeles, says he's "amused" by it all. "I assume Bradley's taking to heart the criticism that he was too bland and that that cost him the (1982) election," Merksamer says. "But I think one of his strengths has been that he projected a balanced approach to issues. Now he's trying to rev up all the partisans, but I think it's going to turn off the independents — and that's where the votes are."

Interestingly, Merksamer believes that a Deukmejian-Bradley contest may not be the most compelling on the ballot in 1986. Unless Chief Justice Bird leaves the Supreme Court before then, the biggest battle is likely to be over her confirmation for another term. Deukmejian is expected to oppose her. Bradley, according to Houston, doesn't know yet whether he'll be taking sides. Houston adds that his own past involvement with Bird will not influence the mayor.

Of all Bradley's recent actions, his most stunning was to overhaul the city's commissions. (In Los Angeles virtually every city department has a citizens' commission attached to it. Of the 33 commissions, most are advisory, but about a dozen wield real power.) Previously, Bradley maintained a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the commissions, most of which are five-member panels. But, in a bolt from the blue last May, he asked everyone to resign. Slightly more than a month later, he announced a new batch of appointees, but only about 30 percent were carryovers from the past.

To most observers it appeared that Bradley was determined to create a corps of supporters who would work on his behalf, contribute to his campaigns, give him access to various groups and provide him with advice. (Black, Hispanic, Asian and women commissioners were organized into separate caucuses, each to determine how its constituents might be better served by the mayor.) Bradley himself, when announcing the appointments, said he expected them to bring a "new perspective, new ideas, a new burst of energy" to city hall. Houston cited the commissioners' ethnic-sexual diversity and said that consumer and environmental activists should be pleased.

Among the new appointees: California Common Cause chief Walter Zelman, labor leader Robertson, environmental activist and former head (under Governor Jerry Brown) of the Air Resources Board Mary Nichols, and several locally prominent consumer, civil rights and Democratic Party activists including a developer who loaned Bradley's 1982 gubernatorial campaign $300,000.

Daryl Gates

Although Bradley's new commissions have produced few, if any, major policy initiatives, some are having an effect. For example, Police Chief Gates, who is a thorn in the side of liberals and who has toyed with the idea of running for mayor (in one recent interview, Gates said he would "love" running against Bradley), found that his two strongest supporters on the police commission were ousted by Bradley's shakeup. As a result, the five-member commission now has only one *bona fide* conservative (who got the shortest term of the lot).

Thus, when Gates attacked a city council proposal to partially abolish the civil-service system, claiming it would encourage city hall's politicians to increase the "inappropriate" pressures they already were putting on him to skew the LAPD's law-enforcement practices, Bradley quickly shot back. Prove such charges or shut up, Bradley told the chief, and the Police Commission backed the mayor up. It was one of Bradley's strongest challenges to the controversial Gates, and the chief quickly backpedaled. In liberal households, where Gates' name is an anathema, the episode played well: Bradley — backed by the commission — looked tough.

Another newly-constituted commission got enmeshed in controversy in October by appointing one of Bradley's top aides, Ezunial Burts, a 38-year-old black who had no prior port-management experience and got low marks from an executive search firm, to head the city's Harbor Department. Bradley denied he pressured harbor commissioners to pick Burts. Nevertheless, the City Council launched a probe (over the objections of Bradley's council allies) into how the appointment was made.

Houston did little to quiet things when he proudly told reporters that the appointment was unprecedented — Burts being the first black to head a major U.S. port. To some, Houston's remarks were circumstantial evidence belying Bradley's claim that the mayor was uninvolved. Others noted that Burts would be well-positioned as port chief to help Bradley raise political funds from firms bidding on hundreds of millions of scheduled harbor construction projects.

Ironically, the "stealth mayor" was now accused of "bossism."

In addition to his commission appointments, Bradley has been courting minorities and reformers in other uncharacteristically dramatic ways. For instance, controversial city Councilman Art Snyder (see "Outrageous Art Snyder, *CJ*, May 1982) has represented a largely Hispanic district in eastside Los Angeles for years, but Hispanic candidates have been unable to unseat him. Thus, one day after another failure in a recall election in August, Bradley proposed a plan. Essentially, he would pack the City Council, increasing it from 15 to 17 seats. With careful redrawing of boundaries, at least two minority seats could be gained. The council approved, and Bradley's plan is scheduled to go before voters in April.

In this regard, it also ought to be noted that Bradley, because he's black, is not guaranteed enthusiastic minority support. Another partial explanation for his loss to Deukmejian two years ago was low turnout in the black precincts of his own city.

One final note. Several Bradley supporters, speaking off-the-record, attribute some of the mayor's new activism to a natural evolution of Bradley's own sense of self. According to these friends, the old, passive Bradley, the son of Texas sharecroppers, has been inhibited by the belief that it was necessary to be a "non-threatening black man" to get ahead. "I think he's had this fear of being labeled some kind of black militant if he wasn't low-keyed," said a close Bradley associate. "After he's been considered for the vice-presidency of the United States and has been elected more than a few times, he's more self-confident and he's loosening up."

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Reagan and Jerry Brown: A contrast in managerial style

By DOUG WILLIS

Of all the differences between former governors Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown none was greater than the difference between their managerial styles. Reagan was a strong believer in a structured organization, with responsibility and authority following clearly defined lines. Brown deliberately broke the rigid lines of the state's table of organization, believing that structure often stifled fresh ideas.

Reagan approached the governor's duties as a manager, and he delegated vast amounts of authority to his appointees. Brown used the office as an instrument for social change and as a podium to raise new ideas and question established ideas. Reagan sought consensus among his aides, while Brown sought diversity and encouraged a lively competition of different ideas and goals.

Much has been written in recent years about those differences in styles, but very little has been written about whether they made any difference in accomplishments.

Two professors at the University of California at Davis, Gary G. Hamilton and Nicole Woolsey Biggart, raise that question in a book entitled, *Governor Reagan, Governor Brown: A Sociology of Executive Power* (Columbia University Press, New York, $17.50 paperback, $35 hardcover). Their conclusion is: Yes, management style does make a difference, and Reagan was the more effective governor because of it.

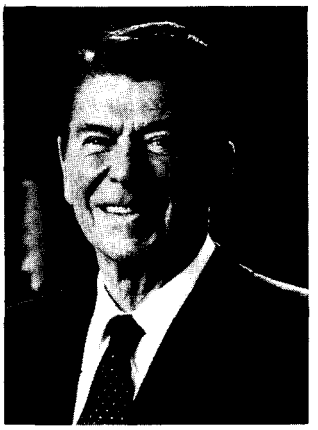
Although Hamilton and Biggart asked 110 former high-ranking persons in the Reagan and Brown administrations about their experiences, frustrations and job satisfactions, a reader looking for inside gossip or juicy new tidbits will be disappointed by this book. With few exceptions, it's a no-names compilation of opinions and experiences that makes dry reading at times. Furthermore, not all of their conclusions are beyond dispute. But for anyone working in government or dealing with it, Hamilton and Biggart offer well-researched, fresh insights.

Despite the drastically different management styles and political objectives of Reagan and Brown, Hamilton and Biggart report some surprising similarities in the experiences and opinions of their top appointees. In both administrations, the overwhelming majority of the appointees who headed various state departments and agencies had little or no previous contact with the governor before their appointments. And in both administrations there were the same frustrations from lack of access to the governor, although for different reasons.

Little direct contact

Both Reagan and Brown department directors discovered, to varying degrees of dismay, that while they represented the governor to their departments and to the outside world, they had little direct contact with the governor. Under Reagan, only three or four of his closest aides had direct access to the governor. Directors had to go through an agency secretary or one of Reagan's aides for a review of the topics they wished to discuss. A much wider group had access to Brown, but not consistently. Scheduled appointments with Brown were all but worthless, and an appointee who wanted to see the governor might have to devote several days to capturing the governor's attention for a few minutes. Hamilton and Biggart said several ranking Brown appointees told them they read press accounts of the governor's statements carefully, looking for clues to his goals and priorities.

Both management approaches have weaknesses and strengths, but the two authors of this study found far more weaknesses in Brown's approach.



"Titles lost their rank, and procedures (lost) their finality" in Brown's unstructured administration. "Reagan always understood politics as the art of the possible, while Brown dreamed of greater transformations," they concluded. "(Brown's) administration never developed the unity of effort or sense of mission that marked Reagan's years in office. Brown's questioning of government's purpose did not become a coherent philosophy, much less a program; it remained a series of interesting questions. Without an integrating theme, many of Brown's appointees were left to create their own agendas. Some were successful, but frequent battles with constituents and legislators often gave the impression of an administration in disarray."

Which is not to say that Reagan's management style was without fault. Reagan's tendency, which has continued in the presidency, to delegate vast amounts of authority; his aversion to disagreements within his administration; and his tendency to take a passive role in many decisions were weaknesses identified in other interviews.

For example, the authors describe the 7 a.m. breakfast meetings Reagan's cabinet members held prior to their 9 a.m. meetings with him, so that they could work out their differences outside his presence. (In one case, a few key aides held their own 6 a.m. meeting to prepare for the

Doug Willis is Associated Press bureau chief in Sacramento.

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7 a.m. cabinet breakfast.)

"Although Reagan knew about the breakfast meetings, he did not attend them and could not hear the cabinet officers' debates. The cabinet members worked out their differences alone and, whenever possible, presented him with a *fait accompli* to be ratified. This suited his desire for consensus and preserved him from conflict, which he found distasteful. But it strengthened the position of the cabinet, which knew that Reagan rarely turned down a decision they all supported," the authors said.

As a result, it was possible for Reagan's staff to institute policies without his knowledge and to which he would be opposed. According to Reagan aides quoted in the book, this occurred when the staff decided that the state, for the first time in state history, should begin regulating commissions paid to insurance agents. The staff aides believed the regulations were needed but knew they were contrary to Reagan's philosophy (see box).

Despite such occurrences, the authors give higher marks to the Reagan style of management because his delegations of authority created a clearly delineated chain of command. Brown's refusal to delegate authority resulted in a vastly more decentralized decision-making process. While he focused on a few items, the rest of government was left to run itself.

Furthermore, Brown rarely said or did anything to provide others in his administration with any guidance or sense of purpose. While Reagan's views were easily defined and consistent with Republican Party dogma, Brown was an enigma even to his own staff. When new appointees came aboard, he rarely gave clear instructions on what he wanted them to do. Instead, he simply sought out persons whose ideas, he believed, were compatible with his own and then left them alone.

Concerning the Reagan and Brown personal staffs, Hamilton and Biggart found that staff aides in both administrations tended at times to see themselves isolated from, and sometimes opposed to, the rest of the executive branch, including the administration's own appointees. In part, this may have occurred because, as the authors additionally found, department directors under both Reagan and Brown felt considerably more independent of the governor than other appointeees. Psychologically, the directors were dealing with the governor on an equal footing, since in most cases they had been sought by him and felt they were doing him a favor by agreeing to run a state agency on his behalf.

The insurance incident

The insurance incident is described on page 198 of the book in the form of a longish quote from a former Reagan aide. The *Journal* has added additional details. Following is the quote and the details:

"We instituted, for the first time in the history of California, regulation of insurance agents' fee-commissions under Ronald Reagan and he never knew a thing about it. The guy who had been responsible for it said, 'I know his philosophy; that's against Ronald Reagan's philosophy, but there are times where you have to overcome philosophy.' In that case Ronald Reagan never knew what had happened. And had he heard about it, he would have come unglued. But at the end (of the administration) it was 'Let's work everything out before it gets to Ronald Reagan.'"

George Steffes, who handled legislative relations for Governor Reagan, tells the *Journal* that the incident occurred in 1973 and involved credit-life and credit-disability insurance, a form of coverage bought by consumer borrowers to repay their loans in case the consumer should die or become disabled. Steffes, now a Sacramento lobbyist, says the problem then was that many of the agents that sold the coverage were the same banks and finance companies that were making the loans. Thus, when the banker or finance company officer asked the consumer if he or she wanted the coverage, few consumers said "no" and few challenged the price.

As a result, the price of credit life and disability zoomed upwards, with most of the profit going to the banks and finance companies in the form of commissions for their insurance sales. Upon receiving complaints from the insurance companies and believing as well that consumers were being harmed, Steffes says, the Reagan aides stepped in to regulate commissions.

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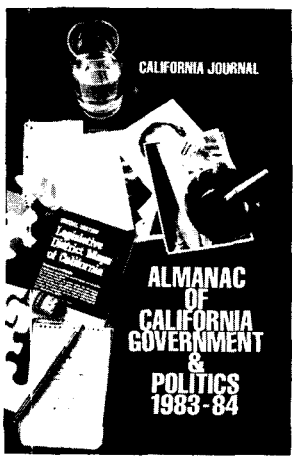

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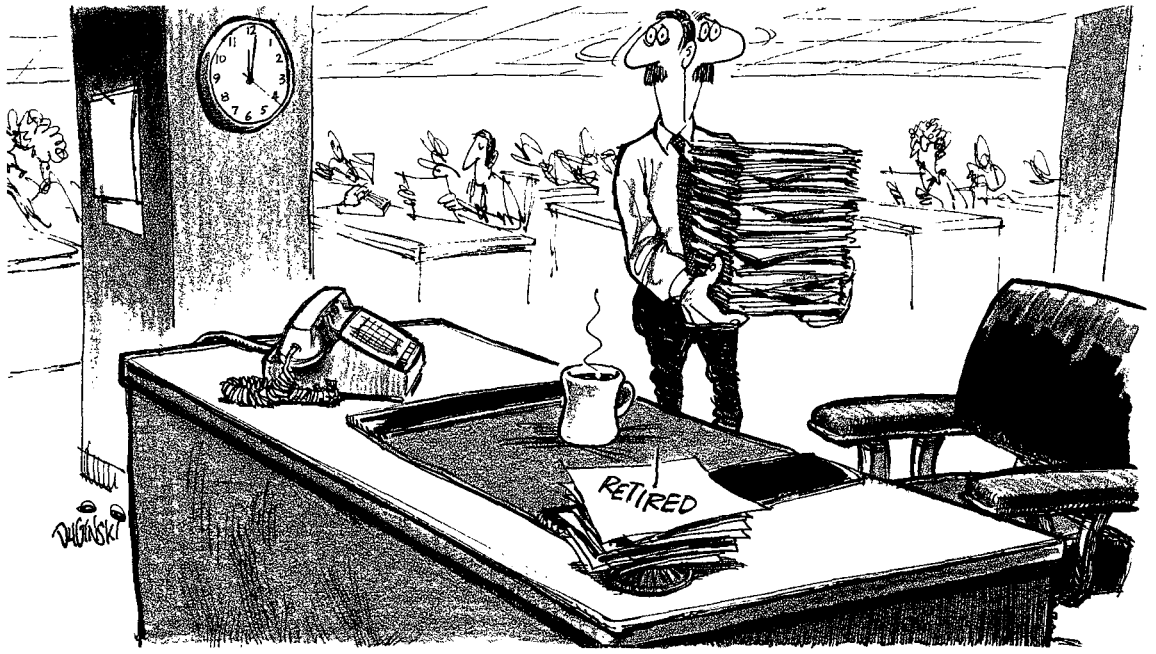

By ART GERMAN

It is now almost 20 years since I gave up newspaper work to become an information officer for the State of California — a career switch that had seemed unlikely until the moment it occurred. What finally caused me to switch was an eloquent pitch from the personnel officer of the old Division of Bay Toll Crossings, who especially emphasized the state's retirement plan. It would, he said, guarantee that my family and I would want for nothing in our golden years. Having little to show for 17 years of newspaper work, I happily decided to embark on this new undertaking that promised a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

I am now 20 years closer to the pot, but not quite there. However, as an information officer, I have learned more about retirements and retirees than most others in our state system. During three years with Bay Toll Crossings and 17 more with the Youth Authority, I have written more press releases about prominent retirees than I can count; drafted more legislative resolutions praising years of faithful service than I can remember; prepared more biographical articles for the departmental newsletter than I ever dreamed possible; and dragooned the staff artist into drawing more caricatures for more retirement dinner programs than state wage-and-hour laws permit. Not to mention having gone to those dinners and listened to endless speeches of praise.

Art German, information officer for the Youth Authority, plans to become a full-time retiree one of these days.

From this involvement in the process I have learned that retirement is taken very seriously by just about everyone who makes a career of state service and that planning for it begins early on. Back in 1970 or 1971 one employee told me he planned to stop working on August 29, 1979, a date that seemed to me so far in the misty future that it was irrelevant. But when that day arrived, he did indeed bid farewell to everyone in the office and was never seen again.

There was another employee who, some years ago, came to work in the morning and left at noon, taking off the afternoon to begin his retirement. Well in advance, he had decided that at noon of that day he would reach the point where he would achieve whatever retirement service-credits he needed to give himself the maximum benefits, and that there was no need to work the rest of the day.

A few truly angry and bitter workers have made their own arrangements to retire through the Public Employees Retirement System without telling their co-workers or supervisors about their plans. On the secretly pre-planned day they did not show up for work, leaving their colleagues wondering what happened to them. This practice, though, is generally frowned upon as lacking class.

In any case, all such pinpoint planning evolves from the complex mathematics of the state retirement program, involving computations which once might have challenged a Galileo or Einstein. In recent years the problem has been eased by the advent of the hand calculator. If, during a visit to a state cafeteria, you happen to see a group of people in a spirited discussion, with one of them pecking away at a calculator, they are probably trying to figure out whether December 30, 1985, or May 7, 1986, is a more financially advantageous time for some individual to retire.

Among the many factors that must be considered are the employee's years of service, the average of his three highest pay years and his age. The employee also needs to consider

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whether his contemplated retirement date is at the end of a three-, six- or nine-month period after his birthday — when the age factor increases, whether he has enough accrued vacation time to reach this "anniversary" period, or whether it's simply best to wait until the last day before the end of the year, when he can quickly qualify for the annual cost-of-living boosts that retirees receive.

He may also want to weigh just how happy he is with his job: Is it worth sweating it out for another three to six months to boost his retirement earnings when each day means facing a supervisor who resembles Attila the Hun? I know several employees who have upped and quit cold, throwing all previous calculations to the winds, after learning that some Ivan-the-Terrible was about to become boss.

During the last couple of years, the equation that helps an employee decide when to retire has been further complicated by the state's offering of incentives to encourage wholesale departures. Shortly before former Governor Jerry Brown himself retired from the scene two years ago, when budget cuts were raising the possibility of substantial layoffs, he authorized the so-called "Golden Handshake." Essentially, this meant giving an employee two additional years of service credit if he retired during a specified four-month period. Thus, an employee who had been on the state payroll for 18 years could receive 20 years' of service credit if he departed during the period. The result would be a retirement bonus of about 10 percent. A benevolent state government extended a hand of friendship and farewell.

However, there was a little more to it than that. It was left to each department, first, to decide whether to participate, and this was to be done on the basis of whether it would save public funds. The savings would come if an analysis showed it would be cheaper for the department to contribute the money needed for the two years' credit than to carry the employees during a protracted pre-layoff period. These findings would have to be submitted to the Department of Finance, which ultimately would decide whether to approve a department's participation in the Golden Handshake program.

The four-month period decreed by Brown ended in early April 1983, three months after George Deukmejian became governor. A few days before the deadline, the Youth Authority was suddenly, and somewhat unexpectedly, given the green light to participate. The decision set off a frantic flurry of activity among employees who had not thought of retiring but who had to make decisions within three or four days, and clear out their desks by then. Quick decisions about retirement run against the instincts of most state employees, and there was widespread soul-searching and breast-beating, along with intensive use of hand calculators before the smoke finally cleared with 150 retirements, all on the same day.

The Golden Handshake has since been authorized at several other state agencies, including Parks and Recreation, Drug and Alcohol Programs, Health Services and the Youthful Offender Parole Board, along with a second time for the Youth Authority — where it was known as Golden Handshake II. The CYA's second effort produced only about a half-dozen retirements, for as one employee put it: "When you shake the tree once, all the ripe fruit drops. The second time there is nothing left."

But in the orchard of state service, fruit is ripening all the time. In my case, I am already gearing up for the big day. To guard against a battery failure during crucial additions and multiplications, I am going out to buy a solar-powered hand calculator.

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Johnson and Jarvis lost after alienating would-be allies

By TONY QUINN

Assemblyman Ross Johnson knew his enemy and was ready for war. But, like British General Percival at Singapore, when the battle came his guns were pointing in the wrong direction. Johnson, sponsor of two of the five conservative propositions on the November ballot, learned that often in politics one's friends can be one's worst enemies.

Johnson, an Orange County Republican, qualified Proposition 40, a stringent campaign contribution limit, and Proposition 41, a welfare and Medi-Cal reduction. Along with Howard Jarvis' Proposition 36 — a broad, tax limitation measure — they represented a populist thrust to push California's social and economic policies sharply to the right.

So why did they lose, while Ronald Reagan was enjoying a landslide reelection? Not so much because of Democratic opposition; Democrats concentrated most of their firepower on defeating Governor Deukmejian's reapportionment commission. The defeats resulted largely from the firm opposition of the conservative business establishment.

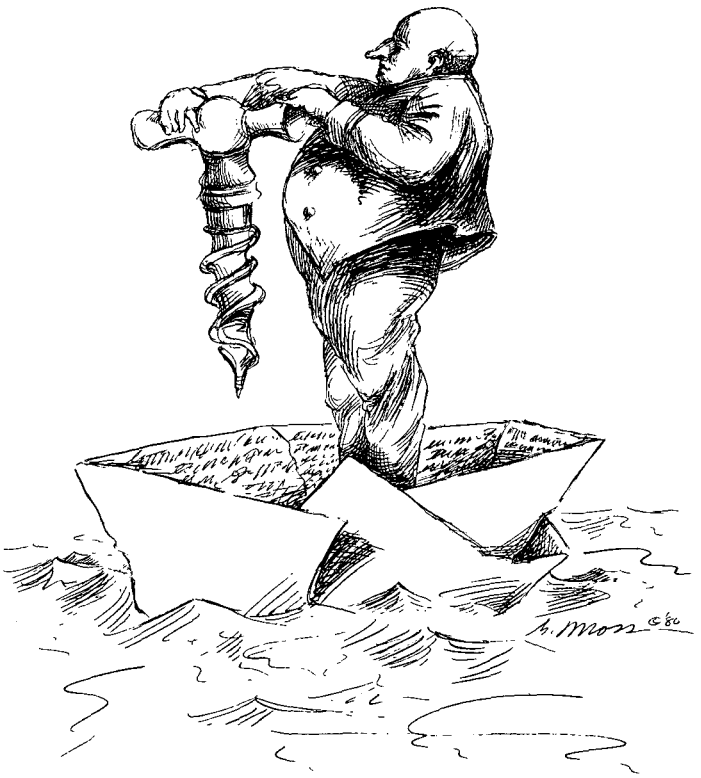
Consider: The California Chamber of Commerce and California Taxpayers Associations, pillars of the business community, signed the ballot arguments against Proposition 36. Proposition 40's bitterest opponent was United for California, political arm of the state's major corporations. The California Hospital Association and the medical community supplied the funding to defeat Proposition 41.

Why such fervent opposition from industries traditionally tied to conservative causes? The answer lies in the fact that these populist initiatives, while arising from the conservative side of the political spectrum, would have had a detrimental impact on the business community had they been enacted. While many business people may have been sympathetic to the overall goal of these initiatives, they could not support them because — in their judgment — the measures went too far.

CHA

Opposition of the medical establishment to Proposition 41 is a case in point. Of the $2 million raised to defeat Proposition 41 by mid-October, $1.3 million came from the California Hospital Association (CHA). In September, CHA had written to its members:

"Proposition 41 proposes massive cuts in Medi-Cal, a program that has already sustained significant reductions . . . .As health-care providers, we are convinced that the magnitude of reductions that this proposal would impose on Medi-Cal and other public-assistance programs would prove not only damaging to the needy in our community but would also have a major impact on our hospital and other institutions that would face substantial revenue losses."



Ah, those last three words: "substantial revenue losses." Medi-Cal is a pass-through system; welfare recipients don't eat those Medi-Cal millions, they spend them on services provided by doctors and hospitals. Attack Medi-Cal and you are also attacking those providers.

Had the initiative simply cut welfare payments — controversial as that would have been — it is possible that opposition from the medical community would never have developed and that the initiative might have passed. It could hardly have done worse; while polls show that people want to reduce welfare or make recipients work, Proposition 41 went down by 63 percent — it even lost conservative Orange County — and the millions spent by hospitals were key to its defeat.

Johnson had anticipated opposition from welfare groups, who mounted their own campaign warning that "700,000 seniors and disabled, as well as over one million children in California" would suffer "severe cuts in medical assistance" if Proposition 41 passed. But he could not withstand opposition from them and from business, too.

Proposition 40

Johnson's second loss was Proposition 40, a campaign finance-reform measure that contained a variety of provisions but was aimed generally at restricting the amounts

Tony Quinn, former policy director for the Assembly Republican staff, has written extensively on the California initiative process.

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of money that a campaign contributor could give. But it went even further, so far as corporations, labor unions and other such organizations were concerned, banning their contributions altogether.

Fearing that it would be driven out of politics, the corporate community sprang into action. The past chairman of the California Chamber of Commerce and the president of the California Farm Bureau signed the opposing ballot arguments. Wrote Tom Ellick, president of the California Manufacturers Association: "Proposition 40 is overkill. It is a measure that would inordinately constrict the political process and the fundamental right of free people to fully participate in the political process."

As was the case with Proposition 41, business was not alone in opposition to Proposition 40. Many Democrats viewed the measure as a Republican plot to wipe out much of their major funding. However, business groups put up considerable money against Proposition 40 and thereby contributed heavily to its landslide defeat (64 percent "No").

For Howard Jarvis, election night was not much better. His Proposition 36 went down on a 55-45 percent vote. And again, liberals and/or Democrats were not his only opponents. His most telling opposition had come from an array of business groups. Few, if any, of the business people objected to the basic purpose of the Jarvis measure: to overturn various court decisions that had weakened the tax-cutting provisions of Proposition 13. But Jarvis went even further, including in Proposition 36 a tight restriction on government's ability to charge fees for various government services. According to business analysts, this could have prevented government from financing sewer-and-water projects, power-line additions and other such necessities for development and growth. As a result, business was opposed.

Jarvis said he did not intend any such adverse consequences. But Richard Simpson, executive vice president of the California Taxpayers Association (a business-supported group) replied: "He said he did not *intend* for Proposition 36 to do certain things, but in fact Proposition 36 does everything he says he did not 'intend' and more."

The Chamber of Commerce wrote to its members: "A dark cloud is on the horizon that could destroy all the gains in 1984 to achieve local fiscal stability. Proposition 36 . . . would set in motion a new round of state bailouts and intervention in local affairs by the state legislature."

The California Manufacturers Association called Proposition 36 "one of the most ill-conceived and fiscally dangerous measures ever to come before the voters of the state." Voices like this helped convince Governor Deukmejian to announce his opposition the weekend before the election.

Not even a torrent of well-chosen expletives from Jarvis was enough to rescue his initiative. His problem was like that of General Custer: There were just too many Indians.

All of which underscores the single biggest problem facing these populist initiatives: failure of their authors to appreciate their impact on kindred interest groups. The result was violent opposition from the very people who might otherwise have supported their basic goals.

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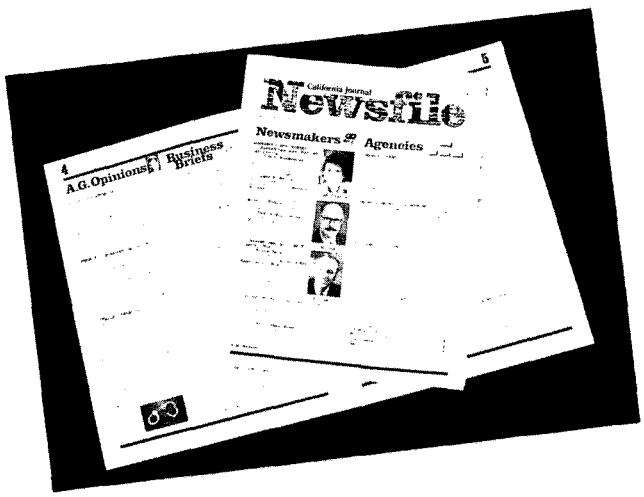

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Federal and state rules stymie meaningful work for prison inmates

By STEVE WIEGAND

It seemed like a good idea at the time — a way to take care of two vexing problems with one solution.

Medical researchers, under pressure from animal-rights groups, had found it increasingly difficult to find adequate supplies of research animals for teaching and research. California prison officials, under pressure from the public, Legislature and the state's burgeoning inmate population, had found it increasingly difficult to find work for inmates.

The solution? Let inmates at a new prison to be built in Kings County raise dogs for research purposes.

The program, as envisioned by the Prison Industry Authority staff, would employ 100 inmates and provide more than 2000 six-month-old puppies per year to researchers. The program could also serve as the base for a spin-off for new prison industries, such as providing guide dogs for the blind and drug-sniffing dogs for law enforcement.

But a newspaper story on the proposal led to howls of protest from the public.

"No dice, no way, it's dead," said Department of Corrections Director Daniel J. McCarthy after the onslaught of negative reaction.

Steve Wiegand is a Capitol correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

It seemed to be a perfect match. The state has a never-satisfied appetite for traffic signs, and its prisons have an ever-ready source of cheap labor to make them. So why not put the inmates at Vacaville to work manufacturing signs for the state?

Because, said the people at the Safeway Sign Company in Gardena, they have been making state traffic signs for years and want to keep making them. So they wrote their assemblyman, Democrat Dick Floyd, and he objected to the idea, and that was the end of that.

Welcome to the world of prison-labor programs, where the mandate to put inmates to productive work is clear but the way to do it as confusing as Alice's passage through Wonderland.

"It's a classic Catch-22 situation," said David Craig, executive director of the Prison Industry Authority. "We're supposed to keep them working and even turn a profit and at the same time make sure we don't compete with anyone outside the (prison) system or produce anything that anyone outside produces."

By all accounts, the state hasn't succeeded very well.

Many inmates do perform some custodial or housekeeping tasks, which range from picking up trash in the exercise yard to fixing the plumbing, and which can take as little as 30 minutes of an inmate's day or as long as several hours.

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There are also some vocational and educational programs.

So far as regular jobs are concerned, the main source for inmates is the prison-industries program. There, they engage in traditional prison work like making license plates, grinding lenses and binding books. But only 3400 — or less than eight percent of the state's 43,000 inmates — are involved.

For the rest, idleness is the general rule.

"If they don't work, they go to chow and then go to the yard and lift weights or do nothing all day," said one corrections official. "And with time on their hands, they have time to get involved in gang activity . . . they dwell on petty fights and insults until it ends up in a stabbing."

Some critics contend that the problem-plagued Department of Corrections doesn't really care whether inmates work. One such is Lew Fudge, a former guard and deputy warden who is now senior consultant to Democratic Senator Robert Presley's Joint Legislative Committee on Prison Construction and Operations. "It's easier to manage the prison when the inmates are locked up all day in their cells," he explains.

Restrictions

Prison officials reply by pointing to a mass of federal and state restrictions they must live with:

— The state constitution prohibits prison officials from allowing private industry use of inmate labor;

— The federal government bans the sale of almost all prison-made goods across state lines, and prohibits itself from buying prison-made goods;

— State law forbids any prison industry that would have a substantial negative effect on private industry or on work done by state employees. That effectively limits products made in prison to use by the prisons themselves or by other state agencies.

In addition, prison work programs must by law be self-sufficient. And any program with an expected gross annual production of more than $50,000 must first be subjected to a public hearing.

How about using prisoners for state construction projects? Assemblyman Floyd, who helped kill the aforementioned sign-manufacturing project, says he sees nothing wrong with having prisoners make "little rocks out of big ones."

Craig replies that even that is exceedingly difficult because of objections from outside unions and state-employee groups, as well as public-relations problems caused by chain-gang excesses of the past.

Nothing new

Problems with prison work programs are not exactly new.

For the first six years of the state penal system, convicts were routinely rented out to private businesses and farms. Because of widespread abuses, however — such as wardens taking bribes to provide inmate labor to some businesses and not to others — the Legislature stopped the practice. Instead, private contractors established factories on prison grounds where the inmates worked under state supervision — a forerunner of Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger's current call for making prisons into "factories with fences."

By 1879, however, abuses in the forms of bribes and kickbacks had become widespread, and the state constitution was amended to prohibit inmates' labor from being used by or for private industry.

Prison work continued, however. Most of it centered on providing products that did not compete with private industry — San Quentin inmates made jute sandbags, for example, because the only other jute bags being made were from Egypt — or goods used by the convicts themselves. Inmates at Folsom, for example, raised pigs, turkeys and apricots just outside the prison walls.

Committee consultant Fudge, who began his corrections career in 1953 as a Folsom guard, says that things were easier years ago. "The population was relatively stable in size and mostly white so there were not the racial tensions there are now. And the courts generally left running the prisons to the department," he says.

According to many observers, prison work programs suffered their most serious deterioration during the late 1960s because of several separate policies and trends. These included the rising power of state employee unions and their use of it to prohibit inmates from doing tasks that could be performed by civil servants. Also, there was a belief within the correctional system that prisoners could be rehabilitated through counseling and therapy rather than work. And finally, the prison population itself became more dangerous and violent because of various state programs that encouraged early release for persons convicted of relatively non-violent crimes, leaving behind the more violent element. As a result, many of the system's best-behaved and most reliable workers were gone.

In any case, by 1981 the Legislature was hearing a variety of arguments aimed at putting prisoners back to work. "It costs more than $13,000 per year to keep someone in prison. There's no reason some of that shouldn't be returned to the taxpayer," says Riverside Democrat Presley, a leader in legislative moves to improve the prison system. Others point to studies from other states, indicating that inmates who worked in prisons do better after release than those who did not.

Consultant Fudge makes another point: many prisoners want to work and will do well if given a chance. "Work is catching. I worked with convicts for 25 years, and they'll work . . . I've seen guys who were bums in San Quentin and Folsom go out to the forestry camps and work like dogs, risk their lives in fires. They can do it if we give them something to do," he argues.

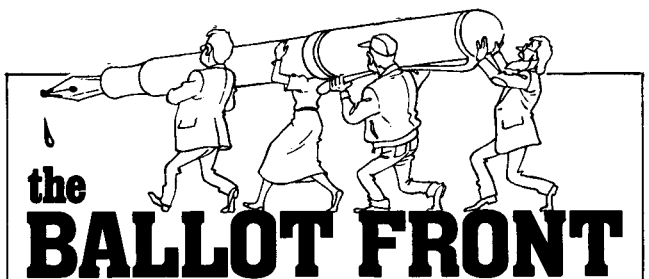
Thus in 1981 the Legislature passed a series of bills designed to revive the work system. They included:

— a mandate that the Department of Corrections employ all able-bodied prisoners (AB1403);

— an increase in inmate wages from the then-maximum 35 cents per hour to as much as half the current minimum wage of $3.30 per hour (AB496); and

— a change in laws that reduced inmates' sentences up to one-third for good behavior, to grant sentence reductions of up to one-half for those who worked (AB2954).

The Legislature also abolished the Correctional Industry Commission, which was under the control of the corrections department, and replaced it with the Prison Industry Authority. The authority, run by a board of 11 members appointed by the governor and legislative leaders, was charged with establishing profitable industries



There are currently no initiatives in circulation.

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within the prisons that would ultimately employ as many as 60 percent of the state's inmates.

The board was given a $60 million budget, and future appropriations were made independent of the budget process. In an effort to give the board further autonomy, it was also allowed to start industries without direct legislative approval, as long as it adhered to all other state and federal restrictions.

Progress?

So how are things going? According to the authority's executive secretary, Craig, who came to California a year ago after five years as head of the Connecticut prison industries program, the word is "slow." In a recent report to the Legislature, Craig estimated that by September 1986, 918 new jobs will have been created at the state's 12 existing prisons and 10 proposed sites. By that time, officials estimate, the total prison population will exceed 45,000.

In other words, despite the new laws, the situation probably won't change dramatically without substantial revisions in those smothering state and federal regulations or without a miraculous turnaround by organized labor.

Meanwhile, as indicated by Craig's report, there is some movement. Flexing its muscle, the PIA board recently authorized a meat-packing center using inmates from the womens' prison at Frontera, despite objections from the meat industry and a unanimous state Senate resolution against the idea.

Agency officials — largely through mediation efforts by Assemblyman Floyd's office — also managed recently to settle a dispute with labor groups that objected to having inmates at Vacaville fabricate pre-molded concrete walls for prison construction. Under terms of the agreement, outside companies will bid to organize and supervise the work, while inmates do the actual labor.

Another course is to look overseas.

"I don't care how many people we put out of work in Taiwan," says Floyd. "If we could find industries that have fled the United States and aren't likely to come back, they could be run by the prisons. Like turn every prison into a color-television factory."

Like Floyd's other proposal — that prisoners make little rocks of big ones — the television idea sounds good but runs up against more of those rules. There is the federal rule against selling prison-made products in other states and the state rule against putting prison products in California markets to compete with private enterprise.

Craig says that he is exploring the possibility of selling prison-made goods overseas, notably Central and South America and the Pacific rim nations. "Nothing would make me happier than to sell license plates to Japan," he says. But, then, what would Japanese prisoners do?

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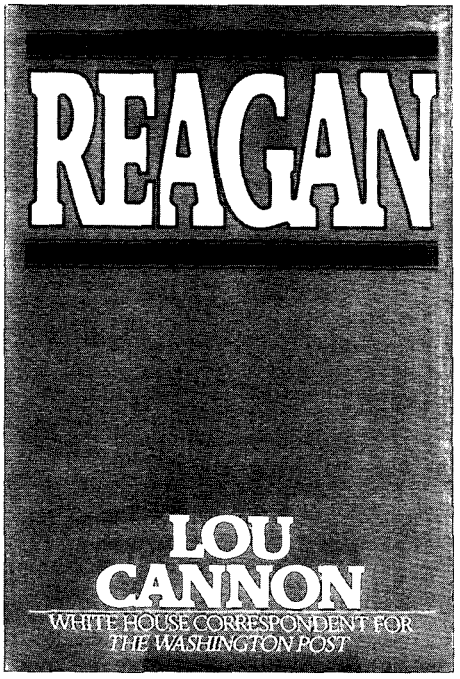

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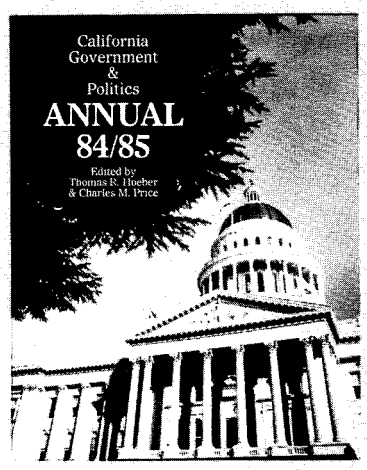

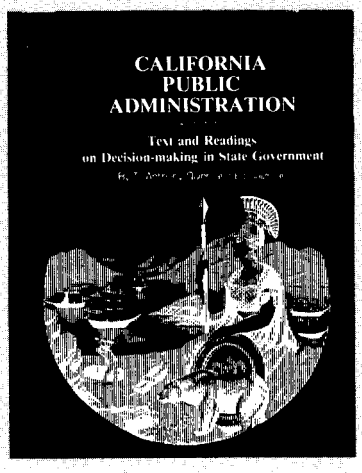

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Issue for the 80s: pay equity between men and women

By TERRI E. JONISCH and SHERRY BEBITCH JEFFE

Comparable worth — equal pay for comparable, but not identical work — has been the focus of legislative, legal and media attention since the 1970s. The following article attempts to summarize the situation in California today.

The issue arises from the fact that jobs done primarily by women are often paid at lower rates than jobs done primarily by men, even though the jobs themselves require comparable skills, education, effort, etc. For example, a report from the Senate Office of Research, developed for a number of comparable civil-service occupations in which female workers' salaries lagged behind men's, found:

— A legal typist is paid $1191-$1395 per month, but a park maintenance worker earns $1462-$1745 per month.

— A key data operator earns $976-$1048 per month compared to a highway equipment cleaner who earns $1342-$1462.

Advocates of comparable worth say that such differing wage levels for comparable jobs discriminate against women and should not be allowed to exist. They contend that skills, experience, degree of responsibility and other such factors involved with particular jobs may be assessed. And when assessments show that one job is comparably equivalent to another, then persons holding those jobs should be paid the same, regardless of sex.

Opponents — mostly business and employer groups — reply that only the impersonal marketplace can fairly and impartially assess the worth of one job against another. If the government were to start determining wages for every job in the land, they contend, the nation's free economy would cease to exist.

Key court ruling

Until recently, the hopes of comparable-worth proponents rode largely on a federal court ruling in December 1983 in the state of Washington *(American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees v. Washington State)*. In response to a 1982 suit brought by AFSCME, Judge Jack E. Tanner said the state owed over fours years' worth of back pay and raises to some 15,000 workers in female-dominated jobs. The judge said the evidence was "overwhelming" that the state had been and still was violating Title VII of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, which covers discrimination in employment.

The judge based his ruling on the fact that the state in the early 1970s had commissioned a study of its wage rates to see if women were being paid less than men for jobs of comparable worth. In 1976, after the study said that female-dominated categories were receiving less, the Washington Personnel Board resolved to use the study in setting new wage levels.

However, the state failed to make many changes. Thus the judge, citing the state's failure to abide by the results of its own study, found evidence of discrimination. Estimates are that his ruling could cost Washington upwards of $400 million.

But Tanner's decision is on appeal, and last July the appellate court that will decide the case handed down a ruling that could deal a major blow to the concept of comparable worth, particularly since the U.S. Supreme Court on November 26th refused to review the appellate ruling. In *Spaulding v. University of Washington*, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the university's nursing faculty could not bring a discrimination suit under Title VII (of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) simply because its members were paid less than instructors with comparable responsibilities at other schools within the university system. Essentially, the San Francisco appellate panel upheld the university's contention that it should be free to base faculty salaries on prevailing national market scales, even if faculty members in some disciplines ended up with less pay.

Undeterred by the federal court development, the California State Employees Association (CSEA) on November 21st filed a comparable-worth suit in state court against the State of California. Echoing Judge Tanner's findings in Washington, the CSEA charged that California had failed to abide by its own studies showing comparably lower wages going to female-dominated job categories.

But the comparable worth issue has a life outside the courts.

The Legislature took its first major action in 1981 with a law declaring that it would be state policy to consider comparable worth when setting salaries for state employees in female-dominated jobs. But while approving studies and voluntary actions, lawmakers have not approved a broad mandate that would require equal pay for comparable work in government and/or the private sector (see box).

Even if such a mandate were to be approved, it appears unlikely that Republican Governor George Deukmejian would sign the legislation, given the fact that last year he vetoed three narrower pieces of comparable-worth legis-

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lation. The governor said that the bills duplicated earlier legislation and also impinged on local control over collective bargaining. The governor has said he is not opposed to comparable-worth pay adjustments but wants them implemented through collective bargaining.

(Although comparable worth is not strictly a partisan issue, partisanship is clearly involved. Major comparable-worth bills in the Legislature have been carried by Democrats. At the national level, the Democratic Party platform last year endorsed comparable worth; the Republican platform opposed.)

CSEA eventually negotiated a contract that included minimal comparable-worth adjustments. Most employees received an eight percent salary increase. However, some 26,000 clerical employees received a 10 percent increase and will receive another three percent in January. In total, the contract will raise women's salaries two-and-a-half percent. CSEA estimates a 22 percent difference between men's and women's salaries for comparable jobs.

Collective bargaining

Collective bargaining may provide one of the most expedient means of resolving comparable-worth issues among unionized employees in both the public and private sector. But there may be problems. Citing the recent contract and other reasons, CSEA members in many male-dom-

Comparable worth in California: a legislative box score

1981

AB 129 (Lockyer)/SB 459 (Carpenter)
- — creates state policy to consider comparable worth when setting state employee salaries for female-dominated jobs;
- — defines comparable worth: skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions;
- — requires annual studies by the Department of Personnel Administration to provide to the Legislature and employee representatives information relevant to setting salaries for female-dominated jobs.

***Chapter 722/1981**

1983

AB 1579 (Tanner)
- — would create in California the equivalent of the Canadian National Statute which specifically defines as a discriminatory employment practice the establishment or maintenance by public and private employers of wage differences between men and women who are performing work of equal value.

Defeated in Assembly Labor and Employment Committee

AB 1580 (Klehs)
- — prohibits local governments from adopting or retaining ordinances which have the effect of prohibiting consideration of comparable worth in salary setting.

Chapter 906/1983

ACR 37 (Tanner)
- — creates the California Comparable Worth Task Force to study the issue and make recommendations to the Legislature regarding the elimination of pay inequities for women workers in the private sector and on law changes necessary to reduce wage discrimination in both the public and private sectors.

Resolution Chapter 111/1983

SB 101 (Lockyer)
- — requires the Trustees of the California State University system and the Regents of the University of California to study the setting of salaries in female-dominated jobs and to report the findings to the Legislature.

Chapter 641/1983

SB 711 (Watson)
- — would require the Department of Fair Employment and Housing to submit a report to the Commission on the Status of Women and the Comparable Worth Task Force on complaints received relating to pay equity and sexual harassment in the workplace.

Vetoed by Governor Deukmejian

1984

AB 2313 (1984 Budget bill)
- — contained items appropriating approximately $77 million for comparable worth-pay equity pay increases in fiscal 1984-85 to employee compensation items for state employees.

Comparable worth items vetoed by Governor Deukmejian

AB 3193 (Hayden)
- — prohibits employers from forbidding employees to disclose their salaries to each other.

Chapter 814/1984

SB 1701 (Roberti)
- — would create the Commission on Pay Equity as an advisory body only;
- — would require the commission to conduct an in-depth job-classification-and-compensation study for state employees and to report to the Legislature and to parties meeting and conferring under the State Employer-Employee Relations Act and the Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act any findings required to implement the principles of comparable worth as part of the state compensation program.

Vetoed by Governor Deukmejian

SB 2084 (Lockyer)
- — would require Department of Fair Employment and Housing to receive, process and respond to comparable-worth complaints and inquiries and to report to the Legislature on what it receives and how it handles comparable-worth complaints.

Defeated in Assembly Labor and Employment Committee

SB 2249 (Lockyer)
- — would place the same requirements on the community colleges which were placed on the state in 1981 and on the UC and CSU systems in 1983.

Vetoed by Governor Deukmejian

*passed by the Legislature, approved by the governor and numbered by the secretary of state.

Sources: California State Senate Subcommittee on Women in the Workforce
California Senate Office of Research

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inated categories — auditors, budget experts, systems analysts and personnel managers — want to quit CSEA and form an independent union.

"Any time you go to the bargaining table and don't do as well as the clericals, you've got to take another look," leader Patrick Rodriguez told the *Sacramento Union* in November.

Nonetheless, at the local level, comparable worth appears to be achieving acceptance largely through the collective-bargaining process. According to Dwight Stenbakken of the League of California Cities, within the last couple of years "comparable worth has gone from a 'non-issue' — or small in terms of the number of jurisdictions having it on the bargaining table — to a fairly commonplace item dealt with at the collective-bargaining table."

He estimates that in California, 100 local governments addressed comparable worth at the bargaining table and "the vast majority which negotiated, ended up dealing with the issue by some adjustment, without doing a study."

The first strike in U.S. history principally over the issue of comparable worth occurred in San Jose in July 1981. City workers struck for nine days after collective-bargaining negotiations broke down over implementation of the findings of a job-evaluation study which demonstrated the existence of pay inequities in female-dominated job classifications. Ultimately, a two-year agreement was reached with the city for a $1.4 million pay equity adjustment. It consisted of five to 15 percent increases in 60 female-dominated classifications over a two-year period, above and beyond the general pay increase and fringe benefits received.

In 1980 clerical workers in the City of Los Angeles negotiated a contract which included comparable-worth adjustments of between one and eight-and-a-half percent for clerical classifications. On December 3rd 1984 the City Council agreed to begin labor negotiations covering other female-dominated categories.

In 1982 Long Beach library workers won a five percent comparable-worth adjustment after they developed information documenting underpayment of library personnel. Other California cities which have recently made comparable-worth pay adjustments of "some magnitude" include Pismo Beach, Anaheim, Fremont, Hayward, Berkeley and Woodland.

According to the California School Employees Association, at least 20 school districts have moved to implement comparable worth, many initiating studies as their first step. With 1100 districts in the state, this is but a handful. However, the handful includes the state's biggest district: Los Angeles City Unified.

On its third try, the district board passed in 1983 a pay equity motion which provided for setting up a job evaluation study. The motion also directed the board's negotiators to begin negotiating in 1983-84 "to identify and upgrade salaries of employees in underpaid, female-dominated job classifications."

Counties

At the county level, Allan Burdick, legislative representative of the County Supervisors Association of California (CSAC), says many unions sought comparable-worth pay adjustments for the first time in 1983 but that the effort rarely went beyond the early bargaining stage. "My guess is that employees are more concerned about layoffs, health care costs and other issues," he says.

The issue is relatively new for counties, he continues, explaining that the negative fiscal effects of 1978's Proposition 13 prevented counties from considering comparable-worth pay adjustments until 1983. The money wasn't there regardless of what a county might have wished to do, he says. Burdick adds that CSAC prefers to talk of "pay equity" rather than "comparable worth." The latter, he says, has connotations of rigid formulas for comparing dissimilar jobs. Negotiations often go easier without them, he says.

An early county government champion of "pay equity" is Contra Costa Supervisor Sunne Wright McPeak, last year's president of CSAC. McPeak, chair of her board in 1982, moved then to make "pay equity" a county goal, and other board members went along.

Looking at the current status of comparable worth in California, it seems most likely that any movement on the issue will stem from either individual collective-bargaining efforts or some broader action generated by the California Comparable Worth Task Force. Created by the Legislature, the task force is scheduled to report initially by January 24, 1985, with recommendations for reducing wage discrimination to come later. The task force is composed of 11 persons from four different appointing powers. The governor, the speaker of the Assembly and the president pro tem of the Senate each have three appointments; the Commission on the Status of Women has two.

Democratic state Senator Bill Lockyer of Hayward, a leading advocate of comparable worth, is not overly optimistic about task force results. While there may be positive results, he says, he has seen little so far but "wheel spinning."

John Yewell of the California Chamber of Commerce estimates that the task force majority is against industry. "Seven of the members have either personally declared their support of comparable worth or represent organizations that have declared their support of comparable worth," he says.

But task force chair Christine Curtis, a staff counsel for the Department of Industrial Relations, promises an effective program. "Our goal is to identify barriers and impediments to implementation of comparable worth. We want to come up with something that is more than a repeat of what other studies or other reports say," she said.

The future

The direction of both the state's and nation's politics, government and economy during the next four years also will weigh heavily in determining the future of comparable worth. Any attempt to implement comparable worth will rise and fall with the economy: When the public or private sector prospers, the chances for adjustments will likely be more favorable than when state or local governments face deficits or industry's profits are down.

One of the major factors affecting comparable worth will be the willingness of private employers to go along. Prem L. Hunji, legislative counsel for the California Employment Law Council (an organization of California employers), asks, " . . . is it reasonable or realistic to expect that employers should bear the burden of eliminating every manifestation of sex discrimination in our society? If we try to address all discrimination through the employment process, it leaves the sources of other discrimination unremedied. Whether they are parent, peer groups, school officials, other institutions, whatever they are."

Lockyer replies that the same question can be asked about racial, religious and other forms of discrimination. "If there are discriminatory tactics, which statistics prove overwhelmingly do exist, then that discrimination is illegal and immoral and has to end. You don't negotiate to do it."

Any issue with the intensity of comparable worth can create tremendous strain on both our political and economic systems. It cannot remain unresolved for long. Wrong or right, comparable worth is forcing both the public and private sectors to take a look at pay equity.

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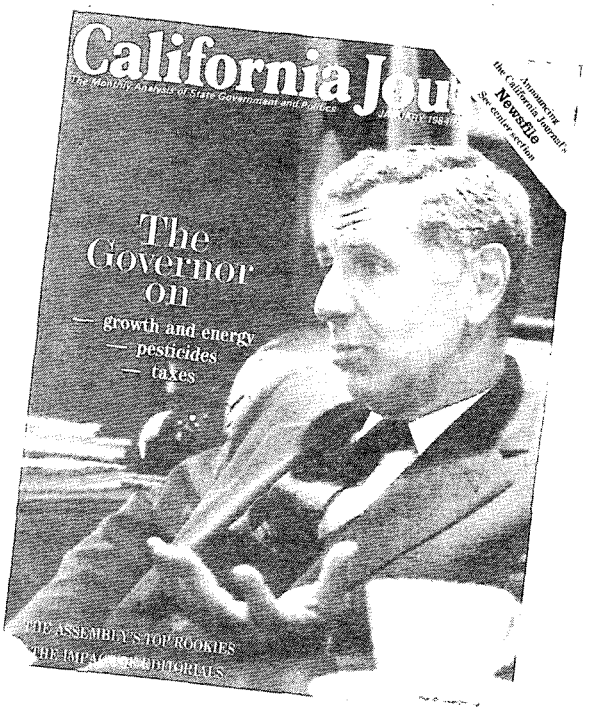

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ROSTRUM

Cory's reforms

It appears from the tone of Controller Cory's article (*CJ*, November 1984) that the continued politicizing of health care is going to be a recurring theme. The controller says that ". . . doctors, hospitals and other health-care providers are taking millions of dollars annually that could otherwise be supporting our public schools." The same thing could be said of any other industry; thus, the argument is a fallacious one. From statements such as this one and other anti-physician-biased comments in the article, it is clear that Cory and much of the media report only half the picture concerning medical care's cost to society.

Inferring that so-called high physician incomes are the result of the government's financial feeding of the fee-for-service system is an indication of the controller's lack of factual data to support his case. If, as he says, the fee-for-service payment method encourages waste and fraud, then it must be the fee-for-service system itself that is evil. If that is the case, perhaps we ought to look at other professions involved in fee-for-service. Some that come to mind are attorneys, accountants, artists, bankers, entertainers, political consultants, cosmetologists — the list is endless.

Cory's four reforms miss some salient facts. Physicians and the majority of the health-care industry have been placed in a very precarious position. When labor and management began a search for benefits years ago and zeroed in on health care, physicians quickly found themselves the subject of negotiations between the two sides. Often if the insurance provision was inadequate, it was the doctor's fault, never that of inadequate coverage. As a result, physicians were mired in paper and labeled "greedy" when they weren't responsive to either the unions' demands or corporate fee schedules.

By falling into the "let's place everyone in a government-controlled HMO" trap, we are once again allowing politicians, who have repeatedly failed to solve the health-care-delivery-to-the-poor problem, to blame us for their failures. To be sure, the present system isn't perfect, but the answer is not to reduce health care to a cheap, over-the-counter remedy. Our state's health problems are not going to be remedied by creating a medical juggernaut into which the sick are funneled for computerized evaluation and a treatment by numbers.

One important factor often overlooked is the fact that with improved treatment, patients are leaving mental-health facilities and hospitals and are able to take their place in society. Patients today are being cured of what used to be fatal forms of cancer. Is the cost of that treatment too expensive, or is it really a net profit for society? Just recently, the American Cancer Society reported that cancer-related mortality for people under age 50 has decreased almost 33 percent in the U.S. However, if you want "cheaper," look at the national health service of Great Britain, which has no reported change in the cardiac-death rate in the last 15 years, while our system has decreased the death rate from heart attacks and strokes by 100,000 people per year during that same period of time.

Blue Shield recently announced that spending on medical care was decreasing and had been for nearly two years. If medical care deteriorates in this drive for economy, who is to blame? What is Controller Cory's real agenda in promoting his so-called reform for health care? Is the State Controller going to use the health-care providers as the "whipping boy" to elevate his own political aspirations, as he did with the oil companies in 1974 to win the controller's office? For the sake of the California health care consumer, we hope not.

DR. JOSEPH R. BREUCKMANN, President
Osteopathic Physicians and Surgeons of California

Book review

Doug Willis' review of *California Policy Changes, 1984* (*CJ*, November 1984) helpfully brought this new annual volume to the attention of your readers and appropriately noted the contributions it makes to classrooms and policy makers. However, while Willis states that Osman and Gemello recommend educational vouchers solely on the basis of survey data and rebuttal of criticisms of a previous voucher experiment, those authors provide a thirteen-page examination of the alternative institutional structures for public funding and provision of education. Vouchers are only one alternative examined, but the one they prefer. The justification for that preference is found in expected improvements in educational quality, lower costs and increased satisfaction of parents and students with schools. Is this not "evidence" relevant to policy choice?

Willis misstates the themes developed in "The Fiscal Context of California's Policy Choices." Changes in tax laws resulting from initiatives are only one factor in an analysis including also the rapid increase in non-tax revenues, the actions by the state to protect its expenditures at the expense of special funds, community colleges and cities and the effects of economic cycles. The chapter concludes with a fifteen-page analysis of policy alternatives, including greater use of special-fund taxes and fees, changes in state-local fiscal relationships, and changes in budgetary processes. If this cannot be called "analysis" or "pointing to solutions or changes," which Willis did not find in the chapter, what is "analysis" relevant to policy choice?

At the most fundamental level, Willis' suggestions that long chapters, tables, and slow-to-read prose are not appropriate for students, policy makers or their staffs is to claim either that the public policy choices we face are simple or that our policy makers, staffs and students are. I believe that the policy choices are clearly not simple but, rather, extremely complex and challenging. And I see little hope for improving our policy choices without similarly challenging examinations of those choices. Are we well-served by overly-simplified analyses?

JOHN J. KIRLIN
Professor, Sacramento Public Affairs Center
Sacramento

A book review is by nature the reviewer's opinion. It was my opinion at the time that his book contained some astute insights and some shortcomings, which he disputes in his letter. Today I would repeat the same praise, and the same criticism. *Doug Willis*

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(A review of top stories during the past 30 days)

BULLET TRAIN BLUES

(November 13th): Out of money, the American High Speed Rail Corporation announced that it had scrapped plans to build a $3.1 billion, 160-mph "bullet train" between Los Angeles and San Diego. The company reportedly spent $10 million on plans but fell short of raising an additional $50 million in investment capital needed to further develop the project and permit the sale of $1.25 billion worth of tax-exempt bonds. The bonds and the train itself were authorized by a controversial bill (AB3647, Young) that passed during the waning days of the 1982 Legislature. The bill came up for a floor vote directly from an Assembly-Senate conference committee, thereby avoiding public hearings on the train's feasibility.

WILLIE BROWN: RAISE OUR PAY

(November 13th): Assembly Speaker Willie Brown told a Fair Political Practices Commission hearing on conflicts of interest that legislators should receive a substantial pay hike (to as much as $70,000 per year) but not be allowed to accept outside money from speech-making honorarium or from side businesses. The speaker said he would introduce a bill to this effect during the 1985-86 session of the Legislature.

BRADLEY FOR MAYOR, AGAIN

(November 19th): Speaking to supporters at a fund-raising dinner, Tom Bradley, 67, announced that he would seek an unprecedented fourth term as mayor of Los Angeles. Bradley, who narrowly lost the governorship to George Deukmejian in 1982, was first elected in 1973 by defeating former Mayor Sam Yorty (see story, page 13). Bradley, who criticized Yorty for seeking a fourth term, said then that he would serve no more than two terms. Bradley has one announced challenger — John Ferraro, a Los Angeles councilman.

BAR PASS RATE AT 15-YEAR LOW

(November 26th): Only 41.8 percent of those who took the State Bar examination in July managed to pass it, a State Bar official announced. It was the lowest pass-rate in 15 years. Adding insult to injury, the chair of the Bar's examinations committee suggested that the low pass-rate may have resulted from a less-competitive group of law school graduates.

GOVERNOR INTERVENES FOR THE ELDERLY

(November 28th): Responding to a storm of public protest, Governor Deukmejian ordered his Department of Health Services to abandon efforts aimed at forcing some 30,000 elderly, nursing-home patients to sell their homes or forfeit Medi-Cal benefits. The department was trying to recover the cost of nursing-home care from patients who own property, but Deukmejian said it had misinterpreted a 1983 law that was meant to help seniors keep their homes rather than be forced to sell them.

PROP 24 RULED INVALID

(November 29th): A Sacramento Superior Court judge ruled Paul Gann's Proposition 24 unconstitutional. The initiative statute, passed by voters in June, was meant to cut the Legislature's budget by 30 percent and alter its rules to give the minority party — currently, Republicans — more clout (see "The Gann Initiative," *CJ*, April 1984). Led by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, the Legislature's Democratic majority said the measure was unconstitutional and refused to implement it formally though they made some rule changes and budget cuts. Judge James Ford said the state constitutional provision giving the Legislature power to set its own rules could not be changed by statute. Gann said he would appeal.

CSEA ASKS PAY, BENEFIT HIKES

(November 29th): The California State Employees Association, which represents about 75,000 civil-service workers, proposed a wage-and-benefit package that would give state employees a 19 percent increase over current levels. The administration estimated the cost at $360 million. CSEA also demanded "comparable worth" wage increases for female-dominated jobs (see story, page 27) and an end to the administration's practice of contracting out work that could be done by state employees.

LEGISLATURE RETURNS

(December 3rd): With pledges to end the deep partisan rancor that has marked the past two years, members of the California Legislature convened its 1985-86 session but met for only two days before recessing until January. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown was reelected, as was Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti. Democrat Art Agnos of San Francisco introduced the first Assembly bill — the 1985-86 version of his gay rights bill vetoed last year by Governor Deukmejian (AB1).

VETERANS CHIEF FIRED

(December 5th): Andres Mendez, state director of veterans affairs, was fired by Governor Deukmejian after Mendez admitted to the Fair Political Practices Commission that he had pocketed contributions meant for the governor's 1982 campaign fund. The FPPC investigation had lasted more that a year and included charges that Mendez, 39, had promised jobs in return for contributions.

TAX AMNESTY BEGINS

(December 10th): The state's tax-amnesty program went into effect, offering taxpayers the chance to pay delinquent taxes and interest without penalties or prosecution. The Franchise Tax Board reported 2002 first-day applications and queries. The program, created by the Legislature last year (AB3230, Hannigan), is meant to collect part of the estimated $2 billion in revenue lost to the state each year because of cheating and tax evasion.

STRS CHIEF FIRED

(December 12th): The board of directors for the troubled State Teachers Retirement System fired its chief executive officer, C. Michael McLaren, 36, who had headed STRS only since September 1984. McLaren had been under pressure to resign after it was revealed that while head of a similar system in Minnesota, he allowed the fund to be run by a union boss who was also given personal data on pension-fund members.

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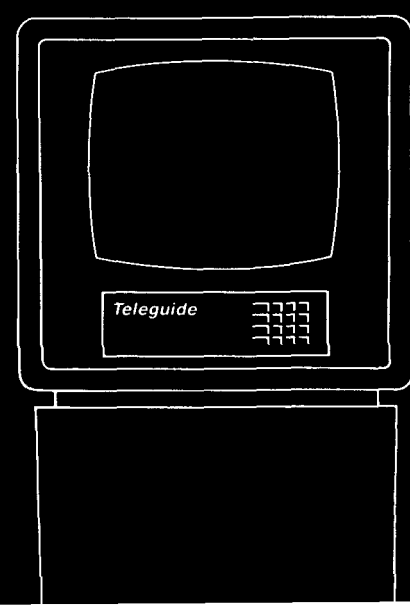

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

The end of the honeymoon

After coasting through his first two years in the Senate in relative calm and obscurity, Pete Wilson is headed for more difficult times and a less-sheltered existence in the new Congress. California's junior senator can expect strong pressures from home-state interests adversely affected by President Reagan's sharp cuts in domestic spending programs and by the administration's tax-overhaul plan. The big splurge in military outlays, a mainstay of California's economy, may have to be reined in as concern mounts over Reagan's huge budget deficits. Congress is set to craft a new farm program with potentially far-reaching effects on the income of California cotton, rice and dairy farmers. The Senate, with a narrower 53-47 Republican majority, may find it impossible to reconcile the Reagan agenda with the political imperatives of 22 GOP members running for reelection in 1986. Wilson, heretofore a solid White House loyalist, will have to scramble to avoid being caught in a cross-fire of conflicting demands from the administration, his own party and his constituents.

COMPARED WITH THE EXPLOSIVE ISSUES Congress will tackle in 1985, Wilson's last two years were a breeze. As a freshman, he arrived on Capitol Hill after the big battles over Reagan's first-term policies had already been fought. This gave him breathing space to settle down and to carve a modest niche for himself. From the start, he was determined not to take the Senate by storm but to inch his way up slowly without offending his elders. He did not put his name on controversial legislation or pant for a committee chairmanship. His only major accomplishment was a California wilderness bill that ended a bitter conflict between environmentalists and timber interests. Out of the limelight, he staked out an interest in military and space programs that benefit California high-tech firms and defense contractors. Unlike his predecessor, S. I. Hayakawa, who never managed to establish a political base in California, Wilson carefully nurtured grassroots and party support. Initial media reviews about his performance in Washington were almost unanimously positive. He may not have racked up a big score, but there were no fumbles or stumbles either.

The next two years are apt to be less easy. Senate Republicans opted for greater independence from the White House by electing Robert Dole of Kansas as the majority leader. Dole, who has presidential ambitions for 1988, is likely to crack the whip more than his tolerant predecessor, Howard Baker of Tennessee. Wilson also may confront new problems on the Armed Services Committee, where he will serve under its new chairman, temperamental Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who wants to freeze military spending and cancel the MX missile. In his brief tenure in the Senate, Wilson has emerged as a certified hawk in both foreign and defense policy. He is a strong supporter of Reagan's super-expensive "Star Wars" plan for a space-based defense against incoming missiles. Putting the Pentagon on a fiscal diet is not a pleasant option, particularly when it may impinge on the flow of defense contracts to California.

The military sector, however, is just a small part of Reagan's budget squeeze. Wilson may have a more difficult time coping with the president's new push to slash numerous domestic programs, including a vast array of grants-in-aid to local and state governments. The president's overall budget trims, if approved by Congress, would cost California about $5 billion. Major losers would be cities, counties and state agencies faced with sweeping cuts in welfare, health, education, highway, urban renewal, economic development, mass-transit and sewer-grant programs. As a former mayor of San Diego, Wilson can expect a barrage of protests from old colleagues incensed about the impending loss of revenue-sharing funds. From another direction, he's bound to get plenty of flack from high-tech and other California corporate interests unhappy with the Treasury Department's assault on special tax preferences for business.

Until now, Wilson managed to have it both ways on federal budget policy. On the one hand, he positioned himself as a fiscal conservative and prime sponsor of a constitutional amendment for a balanced budget. On the other hand, as long as Reagan and Congress were content to muddle through on the deficit, he also supported with great gusto many popular expenditures for California. Wilson press releases boasting about federal contracts and projects benefiting home-state constituents could fill a book. Now, with Reagan playing Scrooge, it may no longer be so easy for Wilson to reconcile his budget-balancing and pork-barrel instincts. Looking ahead to the next two years, his staff hoped to improve his image by showing him more as a warm-hearted senator. "Pete tends to come across as cold and cerebral; we want to prove that he also can be caring," said a top Wilson advisor. But if federal dollars begin to melt away, Wilson may have a tough time assuming the role of Good Samaritan.

DESPITE CHOPPY LEGISLATIVE WATERS, Wilson is moving ahead with his own agenda. In a few months, he plans to surface with a major initiative to strengthen U.S. economic ties with Mexico. He believes there's an urgent need to prevent an economic and political collapse that could bring a radical regime to power in Mexico City. He also thinks it may be easier to stem the flow of illegal immigrants by propping up Mexico's economy than by penalizing American employers who hire them. Aides predict his plan will boost his stature as a key player in hemispheric relations.

Looking ahead to reelection in 1988, Wilson is stepping up fund-raising activities. Even without a primary challenge, he expects a very expensive contest and hopes to put together a $10 million campaign chest. As a legislative friend of Hollywood moviemakers, he has penetrated a major source of campaign contributions previously tilted toward the Democratic side. To strengthen his influence in the Senate and in California, he will continue to raise money for Republicans running in state and federal races. While belt-tightening may be in order for many constituents, the flow of political money is not about to take a downward turn.

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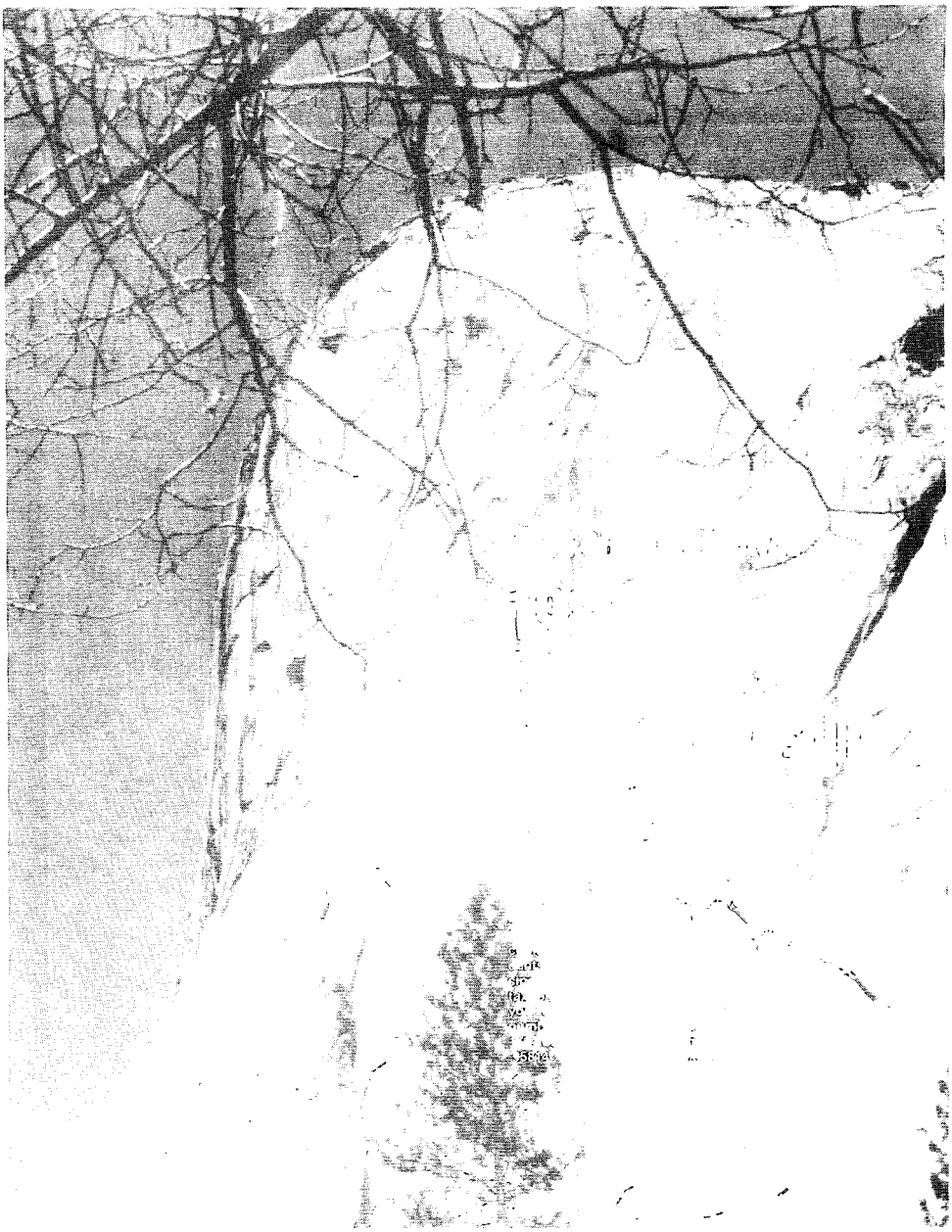

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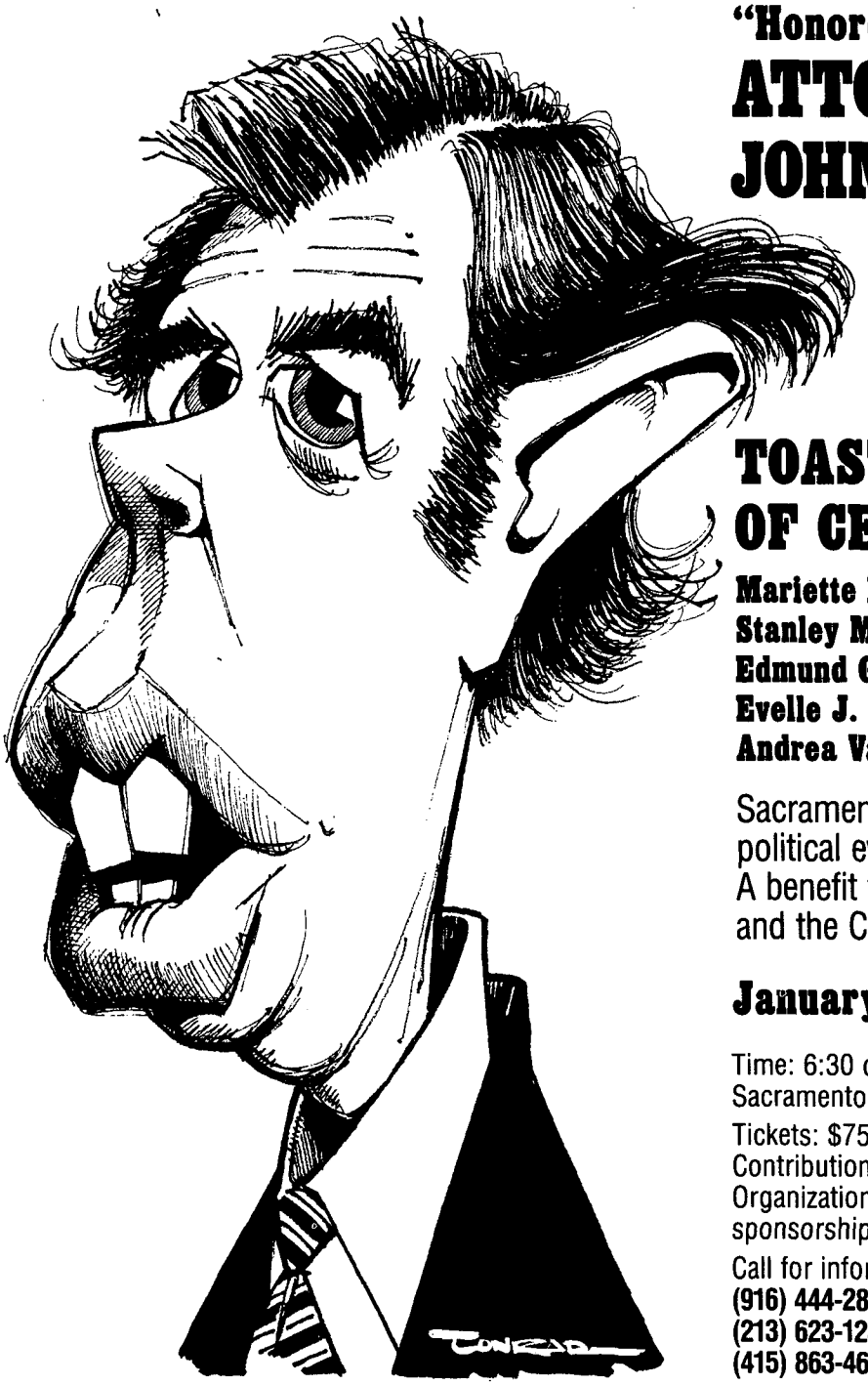
The California ROAST



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